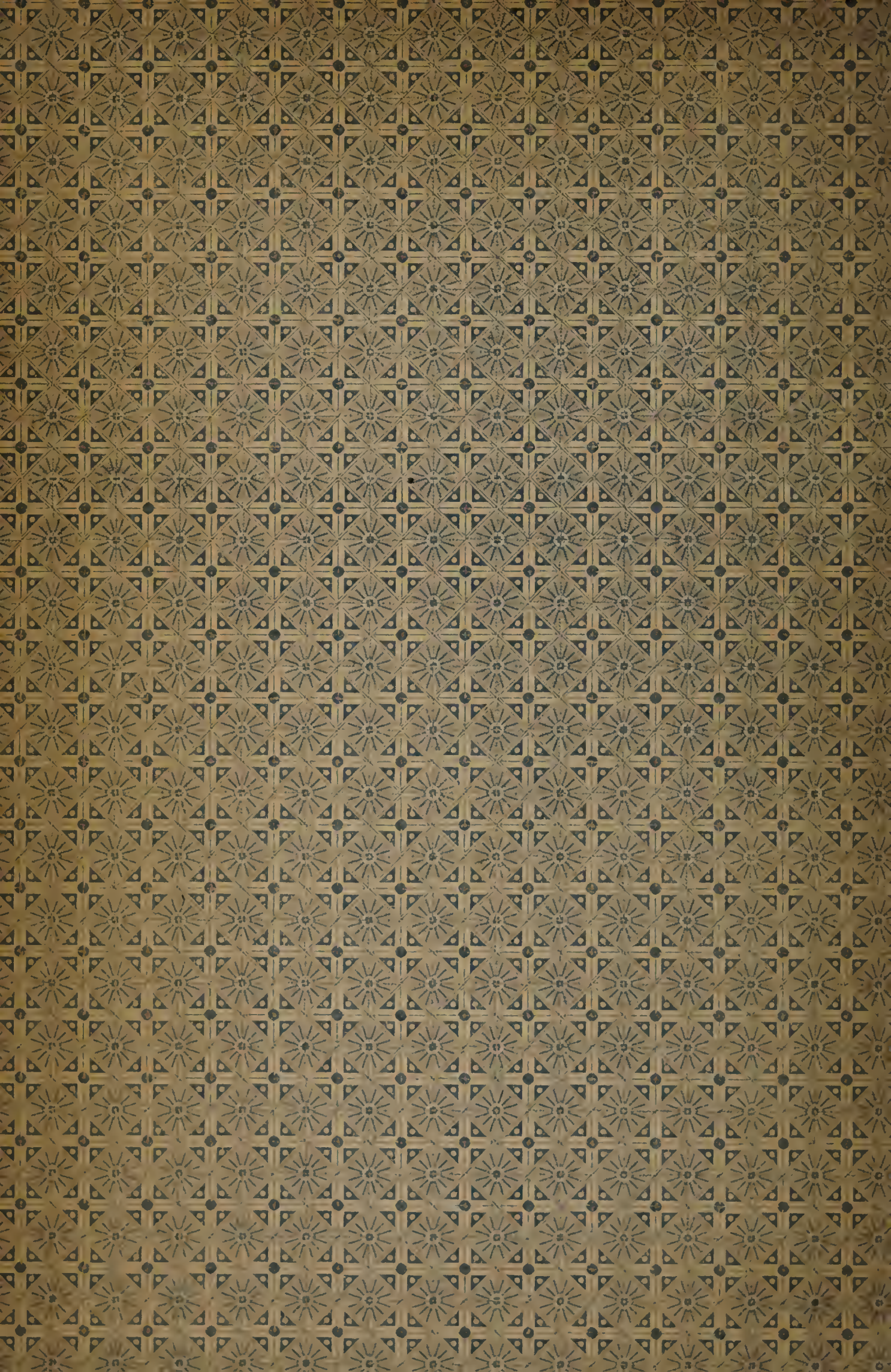


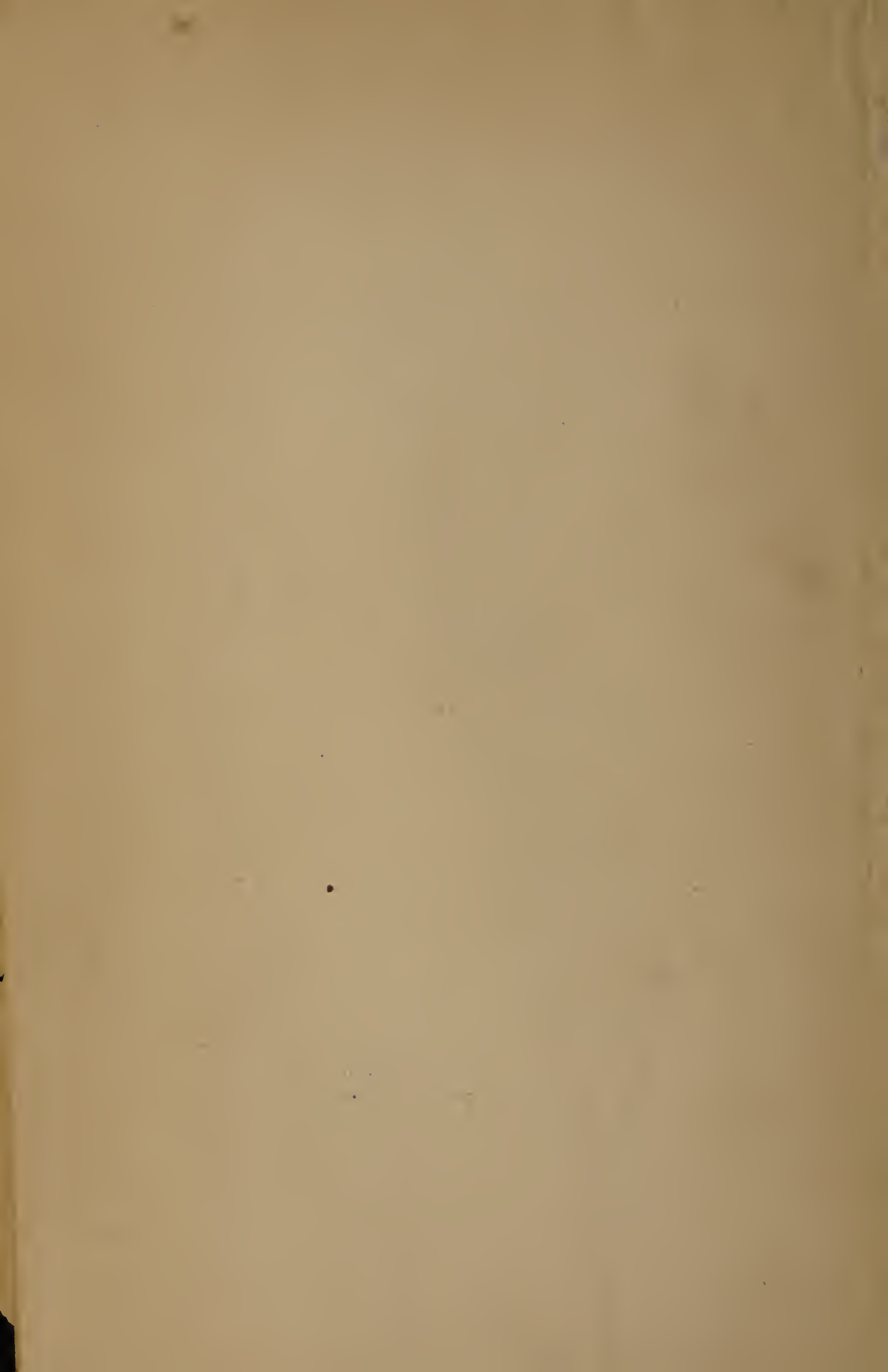
HOME RULE;
OR THE
IRISH LAND QUESTION.
FACTS AND ARGUMENTS
BY
C. HIGGINS, M. A., F. R. S. L.





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HOME RULE; OR THE IRISH LAND QUESTION.

FACTS AND ARGUMENTS

. BY

CHARLES HIGGINS,

M. A., F. R. S. L.

For I have neither wit, nor words, nor worth,
Action nor utterance, nor the power of speech
To stir men's blood! I only speak right on;
I tell you that, which you yourselves do know.

JULIUS CÆSAR, ACT 3, SCENE 2.

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TO MY AMERICAN READERS.

Owing to the enormous success which has attended the publication of this book in England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, I have been induced to place this work before the American public, believing that the vast majority of the great Republic take a deep interest in the present agitation, which has for its object the freedom of a nation which is near and dear to the American people.

INTRODUCTION.



Feeling that the larger portion of the American public is in direct sympathy with the suffering people of Ireland, and indeed of any nation, the victim of unjust and tyrannical laws, and that they also sympathize with the small but devoted band of agitators (and I use the words advisedly), which, against wonderful odds, has made such a determined stand, as opposed to FRAUD, FORCE, and FOLLY, I have endeavoured, in the following pages, to lay before AMERICAN LOVERS OF FAIR PLAY, my own humble views, supported by reliable statistics, and by quotations and opinions of the notable leaders of the people, on the all-absorbing and vital question of Land Tenure in Ireland, my object being to help, as far as possible, in placing before the working and middle classes, facts and figures which shall speak for themselves, with comments thereon, the spirit of which, I shall venture to hope and believe, will find a responsive echo in the breast of every American not blinded by prejudice or self interest.

It has been my endeavour to give as much necessary information as possible, within the smallest possible space, in order to bring the book within the reach of all classes. I have, therefore, refrained from being discursive on many of the points, which otherwise I should have handled more fully. I have felt, however, that together with the late debates upon the subject, and the inevitable battle of St. Stephen's, which is to come, and of which this same land question will be the *casus belli*, that it would be not only presumptuous, but useless to prophesy or anticipate, and I, therefore, think that I shall have better done my duty to the right, by laying before the intelligence of the country, facts which cannot be gainsaid, and arguments in favor of FIXITY OF TENURE, FREE SALE, AND FAIR RENTS, which will, I feel certain, meet the views of the vast majority of my readers, and I trust convert the minority.

In the compilation of this little work, I have endeavoured to mass together an array of statistics and opinions, which have appeared to me the most necessary for the object I have in view, *i. e.*, the instruction of those, who, while they are interested in the matter of Irish Land Legislation, are apt to regard the matter less seriously than they would do, had they read in consecutive and concise form the opinions of distinguished men, with the statistics bearing on those opinions. In consequence of the short time which has been given me to do this, I must apologize for any little irregularity that may have occurred in the placing of the facts and arguments, but I venture to hope that they are arranged in such a form as to be understandable to the least gifted of my readers,

I must also claim their indulgence for the brevity and paucity of my own particular views, as expressed in this book; but, as I have previously remarked in this introduction, my object is not the airing of my own crotchets and views, but a desire to instruct, by facts and figures, which are more potent than any rhetoric, which I might be capable of exhibiting. I shall, therefore, rely upon the reader's indulgence, trusting, that after the perusal of this, my humble effort, he will have found wherewithal for reflection and sympathy.

I may add, that I am a thorough Englishman, and as loyal as any of the subjects of Her Gracious Majesty to the British Constitution. I do not write from any party standpoint; my only desire is to incite in the minds of my American readers, a desire to investigate the grievances of the Irish people, but more particularly the vexed problem of the Tenure of Land. I am sanguine that the Americans have only to be convinced of the existing evils of the system, as now established in Ireland, and they will practically and morally assist the Irish in obtaining the reforms so urgently needed. Without the aid and sympathy of the American people, the Irish are powerless to obtain redress; with the support of the American masses they are all powerful, and must eventually succeed in obtaining JUSTICE.

HOME RULE.

"Thrice is he armed that hath his quarrel just."

Henry VI. Act 3.

I confess it seems somewhat paradoxical for an Englishman to advocate justice for Ireland, but have we not Parnell, a Protestant, successfully struggling for freedom for a Catholic nation? Then, again, have we not the veteran English statesman, Gladstone, pulling in the same boat, who, a few years ago, was sending the Irish leaders to a felon's cell? So I think, under the circumstances, I, an Englishman, may be excused.

The question of Home Rule for Ireland is now not only engaging the direct attention of the United Kingdom, but indirectly that of the whole civilized world. But a few short years ago, it required some amount of moral courage to stand up in the midst of a British audience and advocate Home Rule for Ireland. It is not the case now. One of the greatest orators and statesmen of the nineteenth century, the Right Honorable William Ewart Gladstone, M. P., is now, in his extreme old age, struggling for that reform which will give to the Irish nation that glorious privilege, that divine right, the right of self-government.

In a brief period what a change has taken place in the political horizon of the universe in

respect to this great question. And this change may be mainly attributed to the excellent generalship of that great Irish leader, Charles Stewart Parnell, who, in my opinion, is destined by a divine providence to be the political saviour of Ireland.

This question was taken up by him, a few years ago, in its infantile condition, but he has, as its foster father, nurtured it with a care and affection which has drawn forth the admiration of millions scattered in all parts of the earth. To-day it assumes that colossal proportion which will resist any adverse influence that may be directed against it, for the purpose of crushing the aspirations of the Irish people.

Be it said to the credit of the people of the United States they have done their duty nobly in respect to this matter. To the suffering people of Ireland they have not been backward in rendering, in a constitutional manner, moral, intellectual and financial support. They have, by their generosity, not only averted one or two famines which threatened this unfortunate country, but have also furnished the leaders of the Irish people with those means which a starving peasantry, through iniquitous laws, could not themselves supply, to carry on the present and probably final struggle for liberty.

I am sure the vast majority of the American people will receive with delight a satisfactory termination to the present agitation, and I am equally convinced that no reform will be considered by them satisfactory that does not concede to Ireland the full right of self-government, free from any vexatious, degrading or unnecessa-

rily restrictive provisions. The American people have shown, by the late convention held at Chicago, that they have increased confidence in the great leader carrying on this glorious struggle, the close of which, on the lines agreeable to the parliamentary leaders of the Irish people will, in the end, prove as beneficial to England as to Ireland. It would be no exaggeration of language to say, the present and more particularly the past treatment of Ireland by England has been base, bloody and cruel; it has wrought, not only indescribable misery upon the Irish people, but has proved disastrous to England herself; it has brought discredit upon the Empire; it has stopped necessary legislation for the English people; it has prevented that progress which otherwise would naturally have taken place. The English people are now beginning to realize that fact, and are now assisting the Irish people in obtaining that measure of reform which has so long been unjustly withheld from them.

In this work I have endeavored to show, by a reference to the present and past history of Ireland, how necessary it is to the Irish people they should have the right to make their own laws. It may be objected by some critics that if you want to discuss Irish questions you are immediately dragged back into the dismal history of the past; but I contend that, to understand the present condition of Ireland, it is absolutely necessary to do so. To diagnose any disease it is necessary for the skillful physician to have some knowledge of what has happened in the past; whether the present condition of his patient has been brought about by hereditary disease or by some predis-

posing cause, or whether or not it has been contributed to by the past life of the patient; without such knowledge as that it is almost hopeless to proceed to prescribe a remedy, and any method proposed in ignorance of such facts must be merely empirical experiment, and partake largely of the form of quackery. I purpose showing what has been the connection between England and Ireland in the past. Many consider that Ireland, in the remote past, was simply in a state something like what many imagine at present to be the state of the red Indians in America. Well, the records of Ireland fortunately go back even to a greater age than those of England, and they show most incontestably that at a very early age Ireland had a very high civilization. That civilization was lost by the barbaric invasion of the Danes, and we come down to the period when Strongbow, at first at the invitation of an Irish chief, invaded Ireland. From that moment to this there has been a connection existing between the two Kingdoms. The English then got a footing, and of course they have never relinquished it since. In the early ages there was what I may term a questionable kind of alliance, but when we come down to the period of Queen Elizabeth we find that the stormy times of Irish history commence. We have on record the doings of her lieutenants, Mountjoy and Curlew. We know, according to the testimony even of Mr. James Anthony Froude, the great historian, but still greater enemy of Ireland, that they left almost the whole of Munster in a complete state of devastation.

Their orders were of such a character that they

could, at their own discretion, arrest any of the aboriginal natives who had settled in Ireland, and question them on matters of religion. They superseded all the municipal courts; they established martial law; then confiscations were extensive throughout the entire country. Then, passing rapidly through history, we come to the period of King William. I would impress upon my readers who are puzzled as to the present discontent in Ireland, that it is most important to remember these episodes in the past history of the country. The Irish, at that early period, were goaded into rebellion by repeated acts of oppression, and by the misery of their condition. The Irish people have got the reputation of being indigenously rebellious; that was a stigma that was fastened upon them ages ago, and I am sorry to say that it seems to have gone on attaching from father to son, in every succeeding age and generation, until a great many well-minded English and American people at the present day almost believe that that really is their characteristic.

• I think I shall be able to show, that although many circumstances have been cited to prove the justice of the stigma, it really is not sustained by history. The Irish have ever proved themselves a law-abiding people, when those laws were just. True, they have been goaded into rebellion at times to resist slavery and oppression. I contend it is the right of man to resist unjust and oppressive laws. England has exercised this right over and over again. Why should Ireland be denied the same right? I will now come down to the Cromwellian period, and quote again from the biased

historian, Froude, who has distinguished himself for his prejudice against the Irish people, therefore those who are no friends of Ireland can with better confidence receive his account. I have in many instances throughout my work, in order to show the real state of that country in the past and present, quoted from the enemies of Ireland rather than from her friends. Well, it is recorded by this historian that Cromwell sacked Drogheda, and the massacre of its inhabitants, as well as its garrisons, continued during a period of five days, and after five days slaughter, only thirty people being left alone in the town, those were shipped off to Barbadoes. Every other walled town in Ireland that resisted Cromwell met with the same fate. The result in the end was that he confiscated two-thirds of Ireland. It is said of that time that the state of devastation was so complete, that hardly was the lowing of a beast or the bleating of a sheep heard throughout the entire southwest of Ireland. The aboriginal Irish were commanded by a certain date to take all the cattle that were left to them, and at the sound of the drum to leave and pitch themselves beyond the Shannon—as the troopers put it, they were to go { either to Hell or to Coventry. That, in brief, was { the Cromwellian period. Now I pass rapidly on to the Restoration in England, and to the period when James was deposed and succeeded by William. James, be it remembered, was deposed only by the Commons of England and not by the Lords. When the question was discussed by the English House of Lords as to whether James had broken his compact with the people, it was decided by a majority of eleven that he had not. Now it

*The Commons did not put
the question of the
compact with the people
in the House of Lords.*

is well understood that in English Constitutional law the House of Commons is not the sole institution in that realm. It has not the power, by itself alone, to decide the fate of the nation. I am not going to discuss the advantages or disadvantages which may afterward have accrued to liberty by the placing on the throne of William III., but I simply contend that in point of legality the Irish were strictly legal in supporting James. James fled from England, and went to his Irish subjects.

The Irish stood by James, but he was defeated at the Battle of the Boyne, and afterward at Aughriam, and he took his flight to France. William was triumphant throughout the country. Now there is one thing I wish particularly to impress upon my readers. The Irish lost their liberties, but they were struck down in no disastrous battle; they honorably capitulated at the siege of Limerick. General Sarsfield was there with a great army. He stood the siege for something like nine days, and then he capitulated to the general of William III. He was allowed all the honors of war,—to go out carrying his arms, and to the beating of his drums, and with his colors flying. The Irish garrison was allowed a free passage to France; the Catholics of Ireland and the natives were guaranteed, by what was called the Treaty of Limerick, the exercise of their religion, there was to be no impediment to their carrying on the learned professions or their trades, and they were to be on a footing almost equal with that of their fellow-countrymen of a different faith. That treaty had scarcely been three months in force, the Irish had scarcely landed in France,

when, their power being broken, the provisions of the treaty were also broken by the English. Now, mark the difference between the conduct of the English and the conduct of the Irish. The very day that Sarsfield capitulated at Limerick, just after the treaty had been arranged, he learned that the French fleet was at the mouth of the Shannon, with a well-equipped army, ready to come to his aid. He was urged and requested to break the treaty there and then, but—he had given the word of an Irish general, and he refused to act dishonorably. He marched out with his troops and left the country. When all the power of resistance was gone, then came the horrible, base, bloody and cruel period of one hundred years under the penal laws. Those laws outraged humanity, and will be an eternal blot upon the escutcheon of England. Englishmen and a few Americans talk of the discontent in Ireland to-day, but they forget that for a period of one hundred years, throughout various reigns, that, with unrelenting cruelty, every law that could debase a people and deprive them of liberty was passed for Ireland by the British Legislature.

The Catholics were in every sense deprived of the right to exercise their own religion. In the reign of the so-called good Queen Elizabeth a law was passed whereby any clergyman who married a Catholic was to be hanged. In the reign of William III., the Irish were forbidden the use of arms or the wearing of side-arms,—a practice common to the gentlemen of that day—they were forbidden any of the learned professions; they could not be solicitors, or lawyers, or doctors. In the reign of Anne, no Catholic was allowed to

teach any other Catholic, and a Catholic parent was not allowed to send away his children to France, or any other country, for the purpose of education.

If the eldest son of any Catholic gentleman were to adopt the established religion of the country, he could, by that act alone, cut off his father from the estates, and become his successor. No Catholic in the country was allowed to have a horse of greater value than five pounds. And all this and more injustice continued throughout the long period I have just mentioned, until at last, as has been stated by the English historian himself, "the Irish were brought to a state of degradation almost equal to that of the animal world." I have considered it necessary for the development of my argument to bring forward these points. It has been said that a development of trade would be good for Ireland,—that trade would regenerate the country. Well, that is perfectly true, but let me upon this subject quote an authority which will have the highest respect of every impartial reader. I will take Lord Dufferin; he is no enthusiastic Land-leaguer or rabid Home Ruler; he is a man who recently enjoyed the confidence of the State, and who was employed on the most delicate negotiations, requiring skill and ability of the highest quality; he is not a man who is likely to speak wildly, nor one likely to speak of what he does not know; well, what does he say? "In the reign of Queen Elizabeth the Irish cattle undersold the English cattle in the English markets." By an Act of Elizabeth, Irish cattle were declared to be a nuisance, and their importation was forbidden. Finding they could not export

their cattle to England, they then salted the meat and sent it over in the shape of cured provisions. A tariff was put upon it which absolutely forbade its importation. They then tried the manufacture of leather, and skins to dress leather. Leather was forbidden to be imported into the country. The whole of the candle-makers and soap-makers were especially jealous of their branches of industry, as they saw that the Irish had the advantage over them in consequence of the great plentifulness of Irish help. The Irish themselves, finding that the cattle trade was completely cut off from them, tried sheep. They exported wool to England; but it was not allowed to be admitted, except to one port, Barnstable, almost the farthest point that could be found. The English wool-growers began to take alarm, and ultimately Irish wool was declared contraband. The Irish then, having the benefit of cheap food and cheap labor, imported silk, and tried to manufacture that. That also was put a stop to. There was only one branch of manufacture that was left in the country, and the people of Manchester petitioned against it to the number of 117,000 signatures,—that was the linen trade of the North of Ireland. That remained in the country, and what is the consequence? That the North of Ireland at the present day is as prosperous as any other part of the Empire. Their manufacture is known all over the world, and celebrated for its quality. It turns over a trade equal in value to the entire rental of Ireland; the consequence is that in this portion of Ireland there is comparative contentment. Now, I will briefly refer to the Navigation laws. Up to the independence of the Irish Parliament, in the

year 1782, Irish shipping was not allowed to visit any port in Europe. The Irish were not allowed to trade with the Levant, or with any port beyond the Cape. When England was at war with any power, and any ship was destroyed off Ireland, a tax was put upon the Catholics of Ireland. I have run over these points to prepare my readers for what is to come. I have had great difficulty in bringing this matter properly before my English readers, as in that country there seems such a superabundant mass of prejudice that almost made my task hopeless. I don't forget the fierceness of competition at the present time, the necessity of a man straining every nerve, not only to obtain luxuries, but even to earn an ordinary livelihood. In these days of telephone and telegraphy, a man rises hastily in the morning, and swallows his breakfast, and rushes off to work, with a mere glance at a newspaper. When the day's work is over, he rushes to a concert, or some other amusement; and I admit that it is hard to expect him to read much beyond his daily paper. And what do the majority of the English newspapers give? The black side of the picture. You have nearly every morning in flaming characters: "Assassination in Ireland;" "Another Outrage in Ireland;" "Intended Attack;" "Rumored Fenian Plot;" "Another Dynamite Outrage;" "Maiming of Cattle;" "More Irish-Americans Landing at Queenstown;" and so on, column after column, day after day, week after week,—is it any wonder that this gets so indelibly branded and burned into the English mind that at last the word Ireland synchronizes with crime—when you hear one word, the other is suggested, and immediately expected. You

have nothing in the majority of the English newspapers about the social state of the country, its virtues, its social hopes and trials, its troubles and aspirations, its numberless cruel and inhuman evictions, the terrible evils arising from absenteeism, its local affairs, or anything of the sort,—column after column you have simply a record of its crimes and outrages, and I regret to write that some of the pulpits of England have outraged Christianity by assisting the press in the furtherance of implanting prejudice and hatred in the minds of the English masses, against their unfortunate Irish neighbors.

We all know that the press is a powerful factor in the education of the people, and so long as the English press caters to the prejudices of the English masses, so long will the advent of justice be delayed to Ireland. The ordinary English reader obtains a very false impression of Ireland, owing to the garbled reports, exaggerated accounts, manufactured outrages, and the suppression of all facts favorable to the Irish people. That unfortunately is the case in which Ireland stands, in respect to the English press in general, at the present day. Any one who has traveled through England must have been amazed at the dense ignorance displayed by most Englishmen in regard to the real state of Irish affairs, and it is to be deplored that a good number of the intelligent and educated are no exception to the rule.

Most people seem to have a notion that Ireland had a Parliament in the very remote past,—so far back that it is hardly worth while referring to it. They would, no doubt, be surprised to hear that in the year 1782, Ireland had an Independent

Parliament composed of a House of Lords and a House of Commons, exactly on the model of England, and responsible to nobody but the King of England for the conduct of affairs in Ireland.

It is a strange thing that it almost gives an argument to the party of force in Ireland and America, an argument I do not like them to have—that nothing can be got from England except by force. Even in the transaction of the independence of the Irish Parliament, that was brought about by force. The American colonies had revolted from England. They felt that England was trying to interfere with the civil rights and liberties of the colonies, and the American people, sprung from the loins of the English race themselves, would not have tyranny put upon them, and they revolted. The writings of Tom Paine, Rosseau, Voltaire, Adam Smith and others had begun to teach the American people what was civil liberty, and they would not stand the tyranny of England any longer. They revolted and we all know with what success. Lord Cornwallis and the English army surrendered to the Americans at Yorktown. The Americans were helped by the French. The strange historical spectacle was presented to the eyes of mankind of tyrannical and despotic France fighting on the side of free America, and so-called free and constitutional England fighting against the civil rights and liberties of the Americans. Now, the Americans had shed English blood, and their reward was liberty and freedom.

Ireland shed its blood on the side of England and its reward has been political bondage. At that time England was hard beset by her ene-

mies. She had an army in Ireland, and that country was left unprotected. The North of Ireland and the manufacturing towns, afraid of a French invasion, petitioned the Government for a force to protect them, but the Government admitted that it could not spare the men. The Irish then raised a volunteer force, which eventually numbered something like 100,000, officered, armed, and governed, by the noble and the wealthy men of the country, and furnished with arms out of the castle of Dublin. Then, being an armed mob, they began to be infected with the idea of civil liberty that was being worked out in America. They began to see that it was time that the Parliament of Ireland should have that independence which is necessary to the prosperity of every free people, and they demanded that. Now, that was the hour of England's weakness. If the Irish people had wanted to throw off then once and forever what might be termed the sovereignty of the British crown, they could have done it easily. But they did not demand that; and that I say thoroughly proves they did not want dismemberment of the Empire. They still wished to be united to England through the link of the crown, but they wanted independence in their Parliament. For eighteen years after that they were free, and it is a remarkable thing that never should be forgotten, that the first act they passed was to establish religious equality, which the English people of to-day are so terribly afraid will be the opposite if the Irish are reinstated in their Parliament. Well, what was the result of the Irish Parliament? Why, in the following twenty years the population nearly doubled itself; every-

thing went on prosperously, and there seemed every prospect of the establishment of a nation of which no Irishman need have been ashamed. It is now a matter of history that Mr. Pitt's intention from the very day that he granted, in the hour of England's weakness, an independent Irish Parliament, was to set about to find some way in which that concession might be cancelled. They bribed the members of the Irish Commons with one and a half millions of English money to sell it. This fact is on record; we have absolutely the names of those noblemen and commons who sold their votes to the Government for various pensions and emoluments. Sir Jonah Barrington, a man who calls himself thoroughly orthodox in politics and religion, a judge of the Admiralty Court at Dublin, a Protestant and Royalist, writing in reference to the repeal of the Irish Parliament, said: "If at any period of my life my patriotism nearly upset my royalty, it was when I saw the shameless public scandal of the sale of the Irish Parliament." When the motion for the Union was first brought into the House, there were 161 voted against it, and only 32 in favor of it; and, strange to say, those 32 who voted for it were the county judges. Those were the only votes the Government at first got in the Irish House of Commons; but they persevered, and, by buying up places and patronage, dismissing those in office who voted against the Union, and replacing them by instruments of their own, finally carried their point, with troops surrounding the House, with troops parading the streets, with their colors flying, and their cannon commanding the various bridges, lest any popular manifestation should prevent the voting—amidst

that scene the Parliament of Ireland fell, and in the words of the unrivaled prince of poets, William Shakespeare, "What a fall was there, my countrymen!" The speaker of the Irish House of Commons could hardly read and put the resolution to the House, through the faltering of his voice, and it was prophesied then by those who were against the Union, that it would not bring about the peace that was anticipated. The advocates of the Union said it would bring about peace and tranquillity, and that English capital would flow into Ireland. They threw out vague hints and half promises to the Catholic Bishops, that once Ireland was united to England, in the Imperial Legislature, they would be able to give them that degree of religious liberty that a local Parliament would not give them. Now, what was the very first act that was passed by the Imperial Parliament after the Union was completed? It was a Coercion Act. And eighty-two years afterward the last act that was passed a few years ago, was admitted by that inveterate enemy of Ireland, Mr. Forster, commonly known by the soubriquet of "Buckshot Forster," to be one of the most stringent Coercion Acts ever passed for Ireland.

59 > During the past eighty-two years, how many Coercion Acts do my readers suppose have been passed by the British Legislature to stifle the legitimate aspirations of the Irish people? Why, fifty-nine cruel and inhuman Coercion Acts have been passed! Here is the tranquillity that was prophesied by the advocates of the Union.

People say that Ireland would prosper were she only tranquil. Of course she would, but what tranquillity is necessary? The tranquillity

of content, not the tranquillity brought about by force, fraud or folly. Force never succeeded in *Did it in America which you approve?* tranquillizing any country. It never did, and never will or can. And I am certain the American people will agree with me it never will in the case of Ireland. Now I will leave it to any impartial reader whether England has not had a sufficient trial in the management of Irish affairs, and whether their task of governing Ireland, according to English ideas, has not signally failed. Ever since the repeal of the Union, Ireland has been going from bad to worse. Its people have been flying from its shores. It shows a decaying population; it shows none of the signs or marks of prosperity and opulence. It is not that the country is not a fertile country—none more so. It has good harbors and rivers, and soil and clime—everything that should make it happy and prosperous. It stands midway between the great peoples of the West and Europe; it might well be the great commercial emporium for Europe, and yet it languishes. I do not doubt that a great number of Englishmen wish well to Ireland. They do not fail for want of good-will, but they fail for want of knowledge; they lose sight of the inherent instinct which is in the breasts of all men—and this is a most important factor—the instinct of nationality. They seem to think < that a great and a brave and an intelligent people, may be dragged at the wheel of an Imperial chariot forever, in total disregard of all their national aspirations and feelings. That is the great mistake that Englishmen make. I need not quote poet after poet as to the universality of this feeling. Kings, Parliaments, ministers, these

are but human institutions; but the love of liberty is a divine inspiration, and it cannot be cancelled out of the human breast without violating the decrees and ordinances of the Deity himself. Any nation that tries to do that, must meet with an ignominious failure, and that has been the case with England.

I find those people who are unfriendly to Ireland, particularly those in England, are very apt in asking the stereotyped question: "What do you mean by Home Rule?" I think the Hon. Chas. Stewart Parnell, M. P., has satisfactorily answered this question, and in a manner that has obtained not only the approval of the people in Ireland, but the vast majority of the people of the greatest Republic in the world; and the answer is endorsed by the greatest living statesman of the day, the Right Hon. William Ewart Gladstone.

We have now in Ireland an armed force equal to two-thirds of that by which the English govern India. This is a question, one would think, that ought to touch Englishmen closely. Look at recent items of news in the American press. We find that the military nations of Europe do not know how to make both ends meet; their ministers of finance are at their wits' ends to know how to balance revenue with expenditure. Whereas, we learn in America, they are absolutely in the opposite difficulty—they do not know what to do with the income, it so much exceeds their expenditure. Immediately after the close of the American war, the national debt of England was about \$4,000,000,000. America has cleared off her national debt since that time by nearly \$400,-

000,000; the English have cleared off \$150,000,000. What is one of the causes of American prosperity? They have comparatively no standing army. England could well do without the 50,000 armed men in Ireland, if that country were governed in accordance with the wishes of its people. The taxpayer of England would be the gainer by just that amount of money it takes to keep 50,000 armed men in Ireland.

Now, I will give my readers some definition of Home Rule, and which, I believe, is generally accepted by the Irish leaders. There was a great conference met in Dublin in respect to this question, and it was composed of men of all parties—Orangemen, Catholics, Protestants, Presbyterians, and dissenters generally. Irishmen of education, some of them professional men, some from Trinity College, some of property, colonels in the army, ex-colonels, all uniting once and for all in laying down what the national demand should be. The resolution this conference passed was as follows:—"This Association is formed for the purpose of obtaining for Ireland the right of self-government, by means of a National Parliament. It is hereby declared, as the essential principle of the Association, that the objects, and the only objects contemplated by its organization, are to obtain for our country the right and privilege of managing our own affairs, by a Parliament assembled in Ireland, composed of Her Majesty, the Sovereign and her successors, and the Lords and Commons of Ireland; to secure for that Parliament, under a federal arrangement, the right of legislating for, and regulating all matters relating to the internal affairs of Ireland, and the control

over Irish resources and revenues, subject to the obligation of contributing our just proportion to the Imperial expenditure, but leaving to the Imperial Parliament the power of dealing with all questions affecting Imperial matters and Government Legislation regarding the Colonies and the other dependencies of the Crown, the relation of the United Empire with foreign States, and all matters appertaining to the defense and the stability of the Empire at large."

That, I think, includes and comprises the whole of the demand of the Irish people when they ask for Home Rule. Is there anything very wonderful about it? Is there anything very extravagant or outrageous? I think, myself, it is a very simple matter; I fail to see any intricate complication in, or likely to arise from it. The same thing exists at the present time in the United States of America. Every single State in America has Home Rule. You have the same in Austro-Hungary. Hungary, for many years, pleaded in vain, as Ireland has pleaded, for Home Rule; and how did she ultimately get it? It is the same old story of human nature. It was not until Austria was brought to her knees at the fatal battle of Sadowa, that she held out the hand of friendship to Hungary. I hope it will never be the destiny of England to have a Sadowa, when, in her hour of humiliation and affliction, she will be obliged to do what she might do now in justice and expediency. Then, again, you have the same thing in Norway and Sweden. Under the same crown, they have two distinct and independent parliaments. Then take the English colonies: you have Home Rule in Canada, you have Home Rule

in the Cape of Good Hope, you have Home Rule in New Zealand, you have Home Rule in the Australian colonies. Why should it be denied to Ireland? Certainly I think the time is fast approaching when England will be induced to grant to Ireland what she already gives to her colonies.

Then if the matter is considered as a question of political expediency, every one knows that the English House of Commons, as at present constituted, is utterly unable to get through the work it has to do. The House of Commons, for the last few years, has practically broken down. It may be said that that is due, to a great extent, to the conduct of the Irish representatives, but I contend that even if the Irish contingent were absent from the House, it would have more than it could get through. Some alteration must come, and come quickly, too. The voice of Ireland has spoken out loudly on this question, and in a manner that it will brook no shelving of the question. The gifted orator and the veteran statesman, Gladstone, is enlisted in the ranks of the gallant few, with Charles Stewart Parnell at their head. When Ireland had her own House of Commons she had 300 members, but by the Union that number was reduced to 105 to contend against 558 other gentlemen who knew very little of Ireland, and certainly had not much sympathy with her. Why, in recent times, when the Irish members have been a little persistent in bringing forward measures for the benefit of Ireland, they have often excited the apparent disgust of the House, so that on one occasion they were declared a nuisance. Only the other day an Irish membe-

wanted to speak, but the Speaker would not allow him, so the gentleman put on his hat, and on leaving the house called out, "This is no place for an Irishman."

Englishmen are fond of saying—"Why don't you go about your reform in a constitutional manner?" Well, have we not tried that way? Mr. Butt, the leader of the Irish party in the House, was an LL. D. of Trinity College, he was a barrister, a Protestant, a gentleman, a man of education—everything that should qualify him to win the good opinion of the English House of Commons. Well, this gentleman brought in one hundred bills before the House, relating to Irish affairs, and not a single one was passed. In each one of those cases there was a majority of Irish members in favor of the bills. The Municipal Franchise Bill, the taking over of the railways, and various other things relating to Ireland, every single one of them was thrown out. The Irish members naturally began to be disgusted with such a state of things, and the more active among them began that system of obstruction which caused so much irritability and ill-feeling in England.

A great deal has been said in England as to the advantages derived by Ireland from the Act of Union—Catholic emancipation, the partial settlement of the land question, the disestablishment of the Irish church, and other matters. I do not deny these advantages. I do not know that even if Ireland had her separate Parliament, there would not have been some agitation going on; but it would have been an agitation in Ireland, not in England, and consequently would have

been settled very much sooner. One of the evil and fatal effects of this foreign legislation is that no single measure of great importance is passed for Ireland, until the country is almost brought to the very verge of civil war. Ireland is almost compelled to make herself a nuisance not only to England, but nearly the whole world, before she can be heard. Englishmen should consider this matter calmly and deliberately; they should place themselves for a moment in the position of the Irish. They should remember that while young English boys are taught that freedom is the greatest virtue, and are made to feel proud at their great victories—Cressy, Agincourt, Poitiers, Waterloo, their conquests in India, their campaigns in the Peninsula, their great maritime battles of the Nile and Trafalgar; while all these things constitute their proud recollections, the recollection of Ireland is—the butchery of Drogheda, the breach of the Treaty of Limerick, the corrupt taking of her Parliament. Still, under these circumstances, the Irish have patience, they are indeed a patient and a suffering race. Perhaps their religion may have something to do with it. Still, if England will make restitution, if she will do what is right and just, there is hope yet. There is now a new power assuming gigantic proportions—the great power of democracy. It was not the people who governed in those dark days back, but now the people of Ireland have recently got the franchise, let them use it wisely and independently. It is for Englishmen to do what is right and just, and to make restitution; let those who have been the oppressors, do all they can for the oppressed, and they will be forgiven; and with

such a bond of union between these two peoples, these two sister nations, with but one interest, and embraced in one empire, and warmly attached to one another, they might defy the world in their invincibility.

The day may come with England, and it may be recorded when her colonies were gone, and all her conquests had passed away, and when even that nation trembled, Ireland girded up her loins, and fought for the very Empire that had given her oppression. I would like to see a perfect union in every shape and form. The English people now are not responsible for what has been done in the past, but responsibility rests upon them now. The future is for them to make. They are now living at a critical period of their history. The English are powerful; they are strong; they need not be jealous of the weak; they therefore have the greater reason for doing what is right; they know the history of the past, their own revered statesman, Gladstone, of whom they are so proud, has told them, "They know the state of Ireland to-day." Let us hope they will try no longer those miserable palliatives; but give a radical cure to a radical disease. Put the union between these two nations upon a proper footing, and I guarantee that they will win the love and affection of the entire Irish race, not only throughout Ireland and throughout America, but throughout the whole world; agitation will cease; the hat will not have to go round the world imploring assistance for a starving people; peace and prosperity will come, and contentment must follow in their wake. This, in the words of the immortal

prince of poets, "is a consummation devoutly to be wished."

Mr. Ruskin, the world-renowned artist and author, writing to the *Pall Mall Gazette*, recently, said in reference to the Irish question: "The English people take no notice of certain peculiarities of the Irish race, which I imagine they know as well as I do, and yet they ignore them. Would it not be well for the English to take some account of the ineradicable virtues of the Irish in the English schemes for their management? First, they are an artistic people and design beautiful things and execute them with indefatigable industry; secondly, they are a witty people, and can by no means be governed by witless ones; thirdly, they are an affectionate people, and can by no means be governed on scientific principles by a heartless people."

To conclude, I say fearlessly of Ireland, no nation can produce better men, physically, mentally and morally; they possess qualities capable under favorable circumstances of making them a great people. Let England treat them justly and they will serve her faithfully. Let England outrage her sense of justice, crush the noble aspirations of her people, grind them down, cruelly ill-use them and England will find in her hour of trial, the Irish her most dangerous and implacable foe. Now let her choose which she will have, the Irish, not only in Ireland and England, but throughout the whole world, her friend or her foe in the coming and immediate future.

CHAPTER I.

O England ! model to thy inward greatness,
 Like little body with a mighty heart,
 What might'st thou do,
 Were all thy children kind and natural !

Henry V., Act 2, Scene 1.

It cannot be doubted that the Irish Land Question is the great one of the hour. It is attracting the attention not only of the people of the United Kingdom, but also of the Continent, and this state of affairs is the result of the action, recently commenced by a small body of Ireland's patriotic sons, who have exhibited to the world, in such a manner as to cause conviction, the great evils that have arisen, from the working of the all-powerful and unjust Land Laws. They have cited innumerable cases of extreme misery, that have happened to thousands, through these iniquitous laws having been taken advantage of by an unfortunately too numerous class of men, commonly known as "absentees." I would here draw attention to the fact, that a large number of these absentees are hereditary legislators, holding seats in that Upper House, which, during the last session of Parliament by its retrogressive policy, contributed to the just indignation of the Irish leaders and their followers, thus opening fresh wounds, and causing old ones to bleed anew. These landowners seem totally indifferent to the suffering inflicted upon their wretched tenantry, as in most instances they are hundreds of miles away from the scene of affliction.

The small band of patriots (the leaders of the Land League), has brought into existence a great and powerful organization, whose chief aim is to obtain for Ireland the repeal or amendment of those laws, which have been the means of creating such wide-spread discontent among the Irish people, and also of reducing the population of nine millions half a century ago to what it is at present, viz, five millions, for it must be clear to all thinking people, that if a man is unable to earn a livelihood in the land of his birth, he must perforce resort to emigration, and seek under new laws and institutions, for that liberty and justice, which is denied him in his own country.

The following is a government return of 1870, of the most prominent Irish absentee landlords at that time, and the number of acres owned by each landlord, with their respective annual value.

The number of absentee landlords is put down as 2,973.

OWNERS.	ACRES OWNED.	ANNUAL VALUE.
Salters Company, London	19,000	...£17,000
Drapers	27,000	... 15,000
Mercers	21,000	... 11,000
Skinners	24,000	... 9,000
Fishmongers.....	20,000	... 9,000
Ironmongers.....	12,000	... 8,000
Grocers	10,000	... 6,000
Honourable <u>Irish</u> Society (Committee of London Corporation).....	6,000	... 11,000
Sir Richard Wallace	61,000	... 74,000
Earl Fitzwilliam	91,000	... 47,000

207,000

Holy Moses!!

OWNERS.	ACRES OWNED.	ANNUAL VALUE.
Duke of Devonshire	60,000	... 34,000
Marquis of Lansdowne ...	120,000	... 31,000
Marquis of Ely	48,000	... 23,000
Lord Dillon	89,000	... 21,000
Marquis of Clanricarde ...	52,000	... 20,000
Lord Leconfield	43,000	... 20,000
Marquis of Bath	22,000	... 70,000
Earl of Dartry	26,000	... 18,000
Earl of Darnley	21,000	... 18,000
Earl of Devon	33,000	... 14,000
Earl of Egmont	16,000	... 13,000
Lord Doneraile.....	14,000	... 13,000
Kilmerley estate (English trustees)	37,000	... 13,000
Lord Digby	30,000	... 13,000
Lord Hill Trevor.....	15,000	... 13,000
Sir Charles Domville	6,000	... 10,000
Earl of Arran	36,000	... 10,000
Earl of Normanton	10,000	... 9,000
Lord De Clifford	13,000	... 5,000
Earl of Orkney	10,000	... 5,000
Earl of Norburg	12,000	... 4,000
Lord Ormathwaite	11,000	... 4,000
Mr. Smith Barry	27,000	... 32,000
Earl of Dunraven	15,000	... 11,000
Earl of Pembroke	2,000	... 37,000

Of the above Earl Fitzwilliam and the Duke of Devonshire usually spend one month in each year in Ireland. Lord Pembroke's property is chiefly built over by residences in the neighbourhood of Dublin. He has no residence there, and rarely visits Ireland.

1 year 3,390,000
2 years 6,780,000

471,000
207,000
£ 678,000
\$ 3,390,000, yearly

35, 1059,000
8, 523,000

I think it only right to mention here, that the number of absentee landlords has annually increased since the above official return was issued, and the number at the present time, and the total annual rental, considerably exceeds the above figures.

Below shews the landed interest of some of the present Cabinet Ministers, and I think one might reasonably infer, that there is no likelihood of the landlord interest suffering much at their hands.

Mr. Gladstone owns nearly 7,000 acres in Flint and Lancashire; the Duke of Argyll owns 175,000 acres, with a rental of £50,000; Lord Hartington's father has 200,000 acres and £180,000 a year; Lord Spencer, 27,000 acres and 46,000 a year; Lord Kimberley, 11,000 acres and £25,000 a year; Lord Northbrook, 10,000 acres and £12,000 a year; Mr. Dodson, 3,000 acres worth £3,500 a year; Lord Huntley, 90,000 acres and £27,000.

ABSENTEEISM is an evil that has occupied the legislature, so far back as the reign of Richard the Second. In the reign of Henry the Eighth, an Act was passed, inflicting no less a penalty than forfeiture on several landowners, and confiscating to the Crown the Irish estates of the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Shrewsbury, and others.

I am indebted for this information, and for much of the following matter, to the excellent Essay upon Irish Absenteeism, by Mr. L. Jephson, and which appeared in the May number, 1880, of the "Nineteenth Century."

Absenteeism also caused the failure in the reign

of Queen Elizabeth of her scheme, for the settlement of Munster, a measure which would have proved beneficial to the regeneration of Ireland.

Sir William Temple, writing from Dublin at the end of the Seventeenth Century, said:—

“The country loses the expense of many of the richest persons or families at home, and mighty sums of money must needs go over from hence to England, which the great stock of rich native commodities here can make the only amends for, these circumstances, so prejudicial to the increase of trade and riches in a country, seem natural, at least have ever been incident to the Government here.”

Dean Swift, some years later, in a sermon on the causes of the wretched condition of Ireland, said:—

“The second cause of our miserable state is the folly, the vanity, and ingratitude of those vast numbers, who think themselves too good, to live in the country which gives them bread, and rather choose to pass their days, and consume their wealth, and draw out the very vitals of their mother kingdom, among those who heartily despise them.”

The learned Dean, if he were living at the present time, would have perhaps more reason than ever for the reiteration of the above scathing denunciation of the absentee landlords; but we are still in this year of grace, 1881, with the same evils existing, but the more galling fact is, that these very absentees and their class are the real

OBSTRUCTIVES, to any useful legislation on the subject.

➤ In 1783, Mr. Molyneux proposed in the Irish Parliament "that a tax of four shillings in the pound, should be deducted from all sums remitted to persons having estates in Ireland, and not residing therein six months in the year. He justified his proposal on the ground that the noblemen and gentlemen, who possessed large estates in Ireland, but, who spent their incomes in another country, did not contribute to the support of the State, in proportion to the property they possessed. The Attorney-General moved an amendment to the same, and the proposal was rejected by 184 to 22."

Although, as a rule, I object to class taxation, the evils, social, political, and economic, which are caused by absentees, seem to me to warrant the adoption of any means, which may to an extent remedy the evils, or punish the OFFENDERS.

Is it to be wondered at that the Irish should be easily influenced by agitators, who promise them relief from their present state of SERFDOM, or that they should be brought in to such a state of mind as to attempt to redress, in whatever manner they may be directed, the grievances under which they are living?

The Government of Ireland at once issued a declaration as under:—

"Property has its duties as well as its rights; to the NEGLECT of those duties in time past, is mainly to be ascribed that diseased state of society in which such crimes (murder, &c.) take their

rise , and it is not in the enactment or enforcement of statutes of EXTRAORDINARY SEVERITY, but in the better and more faithful performance of those DUTIES, and the more ENLIGHTENED and HUMANE EXERCISE of THOSE RIGHTS, that a PERMANENT REMEDY FOR SUCH DISORDERS IS SOUGHT."

Mr. Jephson, in his able essay, says :—

"No one who reads carefully and impartially the History of Ireland during the present century can fail to trace the UNFORTUNATE EFFECTS of ABSENTEEISM throughout that period. It is, in fact, impossible to ignore them. The absenteeism of the Protestant Clergy from their parishes, consequent on their holding : a plurality of livings, and the imperfect performance of their duties, did not lead more effectually to the religious demoralisation of the people under their charge, and the falling away of many from the Church, than the absence of landowners, did to the political demoralization of the people. In extensive districts in Ireland there was no one to check the evil tendencies of the people, no one to prevent them rushing impetuously after political "will-o'-the-wisps," no one to try and win them to the side of order and peace."

Mr. Jephson concludes his able little essay with a strong appeal to the better feelings of the absentees, he writes :—

"Those who have claims upon them in England, let them, at least for a time, give greater attention to their properties in Ireland, where their presence and example are so urgently required, and would

be productive of such beneficial results. Whilst those who, without any such justification, neglect the duties of landowners, let them be entreated, even impelled, to consider the heavy responsibility resting upon them; let it be shown them that their action, or inaction, involves not only the welfare of their tenantry, but in no inconsiderable degree the peace and prosperity of the country; let them see that the evil their neglect entails, affects not only the present time, but also generations to come; and if they are then still unwilling to undertake the performance of the duties which their position as landowners entails on them, let them at least seek some other investment for their property, than that which is fraught with so many economical and social disadvantages to Ireland, and with such lamentable political results to the Kingdom at large."

I must confess I am not hopeful that this sound advice will be accepted. The obstinate spirit which has been evinced by this class in every age, and in the last session of Parliament, does not encourage one to look forward to a graceful acceptance of wise counsels. It is the ENGLISH PEOPLE who must AGITATE this phase of the question. The feudal system still exists in some of our laws. It is the ENGLISH PEOPLE who must cause it to be rooted out; and to do this, we must first see that JUSTICE is DONE TO THAT PART OF THE UNITED KINGDOM, which suffers most from the TYRANNICAL SYSTEM OF WHICH WE HERE COMPLAIN. I have great hope, that as soon as the present apathy,

in regard to the Irish grievances is dispelled, and when it is discovered that the lethargy has in a great measure been induced by vile misrepresentations and gross exaggeration, effusions of enemies of the Irish people, whose object has been to deceive the English, in order to satisfy some malevolent passion or self-interest, that then will arise the righteous wrath of the English masses; then will they show to the civilized world that, though slow to in coming to the rescue of their suffering sister isle, they have been chiefly through the above deception, and that they will earnestly atone for that neglect by rendering prompt and effectual aid for her amelioration. I boldly assert, I care not what political party may be in office, attention and compliance must be made to the earnest agitation of the English masses.

When vile enactments receive their mortal wound; when good, humane and Christian laws supplant them; then, and not until then, will there reign in that benighted part of Her Majesty's Dominion called Ireland, PEACE, HAPPINESS, CONTENTMENT, AND LOYALTY TO THE BRITISH CONSTITUTION.

If these changed conditions are inaugurated, and the Irish people know that they have been aided by English agitation, then will become obliterated in the memory of the Irish people, the great wrongs done to them in the past by the British Governments.

The Irish, as a rule, are unwilling and slow to resent an injury; but, I declare, and I speak from long experience, and thorough knowledge of their charac-

teristics, there is not a race of people on God's earth, more grateful to their benefactors than the inhabitants of Hibernia. If the English people will do them justice, I am certain the Irish will rival them in their loyalty to the British Constitution, and pay, if needs be, with their hearts' blood, their gratitude to their co-workers in the fight for liberty and justice. Upon whom, I ask, would Irish prosperity first favourably reflect, and in the greatest degree? I expect the reader will answer (and with truth too), the English people !

What a great opportunity we, the English, have at the present time, of holding out to the Irish people the hand of fellowship and love. Let them apply this remedy but ONCE, in a sincere and practical manner, and from my experience of the Irish, I believe, from the bottom of my heart, the necessity of governing the Irish by Coercion or brute force would become a thing of the past.

Would not this be a glorious achievement? And each one who assists in bringing this desirable state of affairs to a successful issue, would prove himself a TRUE PATRIOT. Aye! as great, as true, as earnest, as though he died on the battle field fighting in defence of his country.

CHAPTER II.

No; 'tis slander,
 Whose edge is sharper than the sword;
 Whose tongue outvenoms all the worms of Nile;
 Whose breath rides on the posting winds,
 And doth belie all corners of the world.

Cymbeline, Act 3, Scene 4.

On reference to statistics, I find the deplorable fact that in Ireland between the years 1841 and 1861, the crowbar was used in effecting the demolition of 270,000 dwellings, which means the eviction, or throwing homeless on the world, 1,308,000 souls.

It needs no great effort of the imagination to make one believe, in the heartbreaking scenes, and the thousands of premature deaths, that must naturally have been connected with these deplorable tyrannies; and if a repetition of this inhumanity, on so gigantic a scale, can possibly be prevented, by altering the laws which have mainly conduced to these outrages, a great and lasting good, will have been done to the country, and those who participated, in bringing about this change, will merit the gratitude of the civilized world, and posterity will ever revere their memory.

The eminent historian, Mr. Froude, who has acquired notoriety for his prejudice towards the Irish, gives utterance to the following extraordinary language, "England has kept Ireland poor and miserable, to prevent the people becoming troublesome."

I hope, and, moreover, sincerely believe, that the England of to-day, has only to be convinced of the wrongs, under which the Irish people suffer, to lend its voice on behalf of the suffering sister isle, and in such a manner, as will be effectual in inscribing on the statute book of St. Stephen's, a code of laws, that will assist in promoting the prosperity and happiness, of what is now a wretched, starving, and discontented country.

It is pleasing to witness the unmistakeable evidence, that the sympathy of a very great portion of the people of England, is in favour of the Irish on this great question, as it necessarily must be, because, I would remind my readers, that immediately on the solution of the Irish question, the state of the English Land Laws must inevitably claim the attention of the people, and its representatives in Parliament ; but, at the same time, there is one fact to be deplored, which is, that a great portion of the Press of this country is prejudiced to a great extent against Ireland, and studiously and shamelessly malign, those who advocate any cause that has for its object, the improvement of Ireland's present condition. This portion of the Press to which I allude, is constantly misrepresenting facts, and exaggerating a few excesses, committed by those, who are in no way connected with the people agitating for the redress of their grievances. It is worthy of note that when there are no outrages, the audacity and ingenuity displayed in their manufacture by this maligning portion of the Press, is something beyond conception ; to wit, in the *Times* of January 14th, 1881,

there appeared the following :—“ A report from the island of Arran states, that, on Friday last, the day after a land meeting had been held on that island, 21 head of cattle, worth about £320, were missing, and it is believed that they were driven to a cliff 200 feet high, and pitched into the sea. This has been done to many herds since the commencement of the agitation.”

Now, what really did take place, and it has been corroborated by the authorities of Arran, appeared on the same date in another London paper, the *Morning Post*, under the heading of * “ Severe Snowstorms.” It was as follows :—

“ Our Galway correspondent telegraphs, that according to intelligence received from the Island of Arran, 20 head of cattle, belonging to a Mr. O’Flaherty, J.P., were driven over a precipice into the sea by the force of the storm—a cow and a horse were also driven into the water.”

The following letter shows the fertility of the imagination of one in connection with the Press Association, and to what base use it is directed, namely, outrage manufacturing :—

“ MORE ‘ GROSS ’ OUTRAGES.

“ TO THE EDITOR OF THE ‘ WEEKLY FREEMAN.’

“ Kilmore, Ballendine, Co. Mayo, Feb. 28.

“ DEAR SIR,—A short paragraph appeared in a late issue of your valuable journal, which had escaped my notice until my attention was called to it yesterday, which is as follows :—‘ The Press Association says—At Irishtown, Claremorris, on Tuesday night, a man while returning home, was

fired at, but not wounded. No arrests have been made.' As there is no other Irishtown near Claremorris, except the one situated in my parish, which is now celebrated as the first place for holding a Land Meeting in favour of the tenants of Ireland, I suppose the correspondent of the Press Association must refer to it. This statement is a gross calumny, having no foundation except in the frenzied imagination of the writer. He does not state who the person was that was fired at, and the only truthful assertion he makes is, that the person was not wounded, and no arrests made, for the simple reason that no such outrage occurred. I would respectfully suggest, that great caution should be used, in giving publicity to false charges of this kind, which so materially affect the character of a peaceable locality. This is similar to some of the manufactured outrages, which have been quoted by the Government, to enable them to pass their Coercion Bill. As parish priest, I can with truth declare, there is no parish in Ireland freer from all kinds of violence, or more peaceable than this. Your insertion of this contradiction will much oblige.—Yours faithfully,

“ GEOFFERY J. (CANON) BOURKE, P.P.”

I could continue quoting cases of misrepresentation and exaggeration, and those the product of a fruitful but wicked imagination, so that of this matter alone, there would be sufficient to fill an ordinary volume, but perhaps the illustrations given, will suffice to convince the reader, that this is a mode adopted, by a disreputable portion of the press, to

bias the minds of the English people, with regard to the Irish and their conduct.

Just another case to illustrate the honesty (!) of the press, is taken from *Fun* of February 2nd, 1881, and to add force to the language of the dialogue, there is attached anything but a flattering portraiture of the two speakers. It is as follows:

AN ELYSIUM.

Tom:—"Ain't seen you lately, Bill."

Bill:—"No; I bin a-doin' time. Had two months"

Tom:—"Wot fur?"

Bill:—"Trespassin' on a gent's ground, carryin a gun, and shootin' rabbits without a licence."

Tom:—"Ah! why don't yer do wot I'm going to, hemigrate to Ireland, hire yerself to that theet Land League, an' steal gints' ground 'stead o trespassin' hon it. You won't want no licence fur to carry a gun; you can shoot men 'stead o' rabbits theer, an' be well paid for it into the bargain, an' never a chanst of a fortnit, let alone two months."

An unwary reader might infer from the above illustration that there are as many men shot in Ireland, as there are rabbits shot in England; yet the fact is it takes twelve months to kill as many men in Ireland, as there are often murdered in London in a week.

On getting into a railway carriage the other day, there were four occupants; one of whom was engaged in entertaining the rest, by giving a pathetic description of the terrible and numerous outrages, that were being "daily committed in Ireland," and concluded his emotional little narrative by saying;

that if "they go on at this rate, there wont be any landlords left." At this point I interposed, by asking the one who had been harrowing the feelings of his hearers with his description of the "outrages":—

How many landlords, or those acting under them were shot last year?

He answered I can't tell exactly; but I should think a great number!

On my further pressing him for an estimate, he replied:—

From what he had heard and read he considered a few hundreds!

Imagine his astonishment and those with him, who had believed his little narrative of fiction, when I assured him that according to government returns, there were not more than half a dozen shot during the last twelve months.

The following is the way in which the *Daily Telegraph* endeavours to enlighten the British public, as to the aims and intentions of those, who are endeavouring to find a remedy, for the present unsatisfactory Land Laws. The before-mentioned paper says, "to abolish landlordism by shooting individual landlords; these are the end and means of the Land League."

Well, this league has been in existence now, nearly two years, and its members are increasing in all parts of the civilized world. To arrive at the grand total of its members, including those who are not in a technical sense its members, but unreservedly agree with its aims and objects, we should have to deal with millions; yet, in Ireland,

in a period of 12 months, out of a population of 5,300,000, there were only three landlords shot. From this fact it is quite evident, that the Land League does not encourage the crime of shooting landlords, however great might be the temptation under some circumstances, or more than these would have paid with their lives, the penalty of their inhumanity to their tenants.

But we find from the daily records of the speeches of members of the Land League, in different parts of Ireland, that outrages of every description, but more especially those that have the appearance of being agrarian, are strongly deprecated, and they even go so far, as to declare, that those who commit these outrages, or violate any constitutional law, are enemies to Ireland and the Land League, and frustrate its endeavours to obtain redress, for the wrongs arising from the present despotic land system.

CHAPTER III.

Alas, poor country !
 Almost afraid to know thyself.
 It cannot be called our mother,
 But our grave ;
 When nothing, is once seen to smile ;
 Where sighs, and groans, and shrieks that rent the air ;
 Where violent sorrow seems a modern ecstasy.
Macbeth, Act 4, Scene 3.

I find in all parts of Ireland where meetings have been held on the Land Question, the speakers in general, but more particularly the chairmen, have counselled the people to use temperate language, and to do nothing that would break the statute laws, and in those cases where excesses have been committed, that conduct has met with the strongest condemnation from all parties, connected with the masses who are agitating on this question. I find the following speech, to be a fair specimen of the above-mentioned caution, given at one of the many meetings held on this question, in different parts of Ireland.

At a great Land Meeting held at Clontuskert, on Tuesday, February 1st, 1881, the chairman, the Rev. J. Kirwan, C.A., spoke as follows :—

“ Before I commence to address you, I shall put to you one question, and I am sure, from the intelligence and enlightenment of the people of Clontuskert and the surrounding parishes, assembled here, that I shall receive a correct answer. Listen now—I ask are you for injustice or are you for justice and fair play? The answer was given without a single dissentient. *Fair play.*”

The reverend chairman continued: "Then that is an emphatic contradiction of the false and calumnious reports published in some of the English papers regarding you and me, and the Irish people. We are reported as seeking injustice, as advocating foul play: aye; and they go so far as to charge us with abetting assassination! We are here assembled not to denounce, nor to attack any individual, but we are here to express our disapproval, of a system that has, as you are aware, consigned thousands of our countrymen to an untimely end, or to death beneath the waves, as they were bound for a foreign clime. You are here to claim justice for the tenant farmers of Ireland, and for the labouring classes, and we are also here, let me add, to claim justice for the landlords. We ask no more and ought not to be satisfied with less than justice for all. We are here to contradict the false reports, as to our just demands, and to gain over the English people to our side, by the reasonableness and fairness of of them. Mr. Gladstone, or any other prime minister, cannot do full justice to the tenant cause of Ireland, unless he has the support of the English people, and they only require to be enlightened, as to ~~our~~ just and moderate demands, in order to secure their support."

I feel that I cannot too strongly, deprecate the conduct of a portion of the press, concerning this question, and entirely endorse the sentiments of the reverend gentlemen, whose speech is quoted. Referring to the last sentence of his remarks, I can only say, that I am convinced, the English people are with him, and are ready by their votes to sustain

the assertion. I wish the English people, could fully realize, the innumerable benefits and advantages, that would accrue to this country by the increased prosperity of Ireland. If they did, I am sure they would not use their giant strength, to obstruct and defeat the united efforts of the Irish people, to ameliorate their wretched condition.

The following words, written by John Bright, on January 27th, 1868, are as true to day: as at that time.

“ The English people are in complete ignorance of Irish wrongs, and know little or nothing of the REAL condition of Ireland. This is a sad picture but it is not coloured too darkly.”

Of the UNREAL condition of the Irish people, unfortunately the English people know a great deal, and are daily adding to their store of knowledge in that respect, for the press abounds with manufactured calumnies on the Irish people, to supply the insatiable appetites of those who are (I know not why) the enemies of Ireland, and if they had the power, would always treat Ireland as a subjugated country.

Would that the English people, could by personal investigation, appreciate the wrongs of Ireland. This English nation is slow to anger and very patient under a galling yoke, and I would here draw attention to a philosophical argument as to the prejudice against the Irish, because forsooth they are not capable of treating matters of this kind, in the same phlegmatic spirit as the people of this country. They are of an entirely different temperament, excitable and impulsive, and by a truly paternal

government should be treated accordingly; and although English to the backbone, I venture to assert that by courteous and kind treatment, you will make more of the Irishman, than by a system of coercive tyranny.

The Land Question has occupied the Legislature, *long before and since the time* of O'Connell, alterations and amendments have been repeatedly made, but still the root of the evil exists, to perpetrate its outrages on humanity, and I am inclined to think, that the only effective cure, the one that will strike death to the very root, and all its fibres, will be the passing of a bill, that will have for its chief object, the making of the farmers of Ireland the occupying proprietors of the soil. We find in France, Prussia, Belgium, Germany, Holland, Switzerland, and several other countries, where a small landed proprietary has been established, it has always succeeded in removing all those evils under which Ireland is now suffering, and against which it is now agitating, and establishing an era of peace and plenty, instead of one of disaffection and starvation. This could be done, by the Government buying a good portion of the land at a fair valuation from the present owners, especially in those counties, where there is the greatest misery and discontent, and then letting the same to the people, in small allotments and at a fair rental, at the same time assuring the tenant that there is no power to advance the rent, and that whatever improvements he makes in the land, he will derive the whole benefit of the same.

Further, I would suggest that the tenant, by the

payment of a small or large sum, in addition to his annual fixed rental, should be enabled to reduce his rent accordingly, or perhaps the government could fix an annual rent, that would not be oppressively high, which would repay both principal and interest, so that after the expiration of twenty or thirty years, the tenant would become the absolute owner of the soil. Of course provision could be made, against any individual or company buying up the interest of several tenants, in order to merge them into one enormous estate, thereby being enabled to commit the same evils against which the Irish people are now contending; also that the farms allotted be of sufficient size to maintain a family in comfortable circumstances, and that the intended proprietor should possess sufficient capital, to ensure the proper working of the same.

I think the Government could carry out this plan without occasioning any loss to the country, and even if there were any deficiency, it would only be temporary, and the country would eventually recoup itself by the increased content, loyalty, and prosperity, that would ensue from these measures, and the necessity for the periodical infliction on the Irish people of Coercion Acts and Arms Acts, would probably be destroyed. How happy and free the Irish people would feel, when they knew that the great standing army in Ireland, together with the 12 or 14 thousand comprising the Royal Irish Constabulary, existed only for the defence of their country from a foreign foe, and the ordinary duties of the police, in the preservation

of order, and not for the purpose of enforcing the suspension of those liberties which is the birthright of all civilised people, and depriving them of participating in those blessings derivable from the eternal laws of justice and equity.

Imagine 600,000 tenants, or even one-half of that number, becoming owners of the ground they cultivated—what a different Ireland we should have under those circumstances to the one we have at present! I have no doubt but that the production from the land would be nearly double what it is at present, because then there would be no penalty in the shape of increased rent for tenant improvements, which exists at present, but every tenant would obtain in full, the proceeds of his increased energy, thrift, and industry. I have come in contact with innumerable cases, where tenants have made improvements entirely at their own expense frequently by the aid of borrowed capital, but the increased rent, that has been demanded in consequence, has left the tenant in a worse condition than before the improvement was made. Under the present system, there is no inducement for the tenant to get the most out of the land, as it may result in his being asked, an increased, perhaps, impossible rent, or forfeiture and eviction, of all the labour and capital, the tenant has bestowed in the reclamation of waste or bog land.

It is a melancholy fact that there are in Ireland 9,000 square miles or 5,760,000 acres of waste land that are entirely unproductive, and consequently do not assist in the employment of labour or capital.

England pays £100,000,000 every year for farm produce to other countries. Is it not clear, that something ought to be done, to utilize a great portion of this immense desert of waste land in Ireland, thereby bringing into existence an increasing interest for labour, and a tendency to diminish materially, the unnatural demand for that land which is at present under cultivation? This excessive demand, is undoubtedly the means of inducing the landlord to ask, with success to himself and ruin to his tenant, an exorbitant, and in too many instances, an impossible rent.

I have come in contact with several farmers, who have taken farms at such a rental that they have after working the land found it utterly impossible to earn a sufficiency for the ordinary necessities of life. When they are asked why they take farms on conditions so unfavourable, they will inform you that there is no other chance offered them to obtain a livelihood, and the alternative frequently is emigration, so of the two evils they prefer to pay the high rents that are demanded, with the vain hope that an unusually favourable harvest will enable them to pay these excessive charges.

So long as the harvests are abundant, most of the farmers can manage to struggle on, because they are satisfied, if the produce of their land will leave them sufficient, to provide them with the means of obtaining a bare existence, after paying the landlord's demands. But we all know, that the harvests sometimes fail to produce half as much, as in an ordinary year. It is in such times as these, that the farmers in Ireland are reduced to a state of

want, which places them at the mercy of their landlords, and we find, in too many instances, that the latter abuse the power which the law at present enables them to exercise. When the tenant is unable to meet the rent charge, through no fault of his, but by the visitation of Providence, and the landlord becomes acquainted with the fact that the tenant has, by his own capital and labour, considerably improved the land, so that there is a prospect of the same high rent, or even more being obtained from another tenant; in such cases as this the landlord takes and brings to his aid the advantage of the infamous law of eviction.

The evicted tenant has often the mortification of learning, that all his energy and capital have been expended in improving land, and that such improvement has resulted in bringing about his own eviction, so that the landlord could get the benefit of the evicted tenant's hard and successful labours by asking a higher rent from the new or incoming tenant.

When the Irish farmer finds that this is the reward meted out to his neighbour, for his thrift and industry, no wonder at him neglecting to improve or get the most out of his land, for fearing he may meet the same fate. For this the Irish are called indolent. "But," says the great John Stuart Mill, "what race would not be indolent and *insouciant* when things are so arranged that they derive no advantage from forethought or from exertion?"

In county Longford I witnessed with pain, some very sad cases of distress amongst the tenantry of Colonel King-Harman; and had it not been for the

generosity of the public last winter, I am convinced, from what I both saw and heard, that hundreds must have died from starvation.

I append a list of Colonel King-Harman's tenantry, showing the old rent, present rent, and the poor-law valuation ; and shall leave my readers to make their own deductions therefrom :—

AUGHAGAH.

	Old Rent.			Present Rent.			Poor-Law Valuation.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Joseph Duffy.....	11	0	0	36	0	0	26	0	0
Mrs. Ellen Duffy..	11	7	4	36	13	6	25	15	0
Pat Kiernan ..	£27 2 0	Old Joint Rent,		35	10	0	23	10	0
Frank Duffy ...				16	6	10	9	15	0
Pat Dufy				14	12	0	12	5	0
Bernard Duffy..				20	5	0	12	5	0
Bernard Duffy..				17	0	0	9	15	0

SMARE.

Pat Smyth.....	4	5	0	15	9	4	10	4	0
Bernard Smyth...	0	16	0	3	18	4	2	5	0
Dan Kiernan.....	6	7	6	17	14	9	12	5	0
Widow Kiernan...	4	7	0	16	14	0	10	0	0
John Kiernan ...	2	12	6	8	10	6	4	15	0
Mick Kiernan ...	1	15	0	5	3	8	3	0	0
Philip Kiernan ...	4	6	3	8	8	9	5	5	0
Widow Reilly ...	5	11	4	11	12	5	8	0	0
Mick Doyle	7	0	0	14	15	0	10	10	0
Pat Doyle	3	16	3	11	18	10	8	0	0
Mick Connor.....	8	6	0	25	15	0	17	0	0
Francis Reilly ...	5	17	7	10	18	2	9	0	0
John Connell ...	4	16	1	7	19	8	5	15	0
Mick Reilly	1	7	0	6	3	0	3	5	0
Andrew M'Keon.,	6	12	0	13	10	0	11	0	0

	Old Rent.			Present Rent.			Poor-Law Valuation.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Pat Kiernan	13	1	11	17	3	0	13	8	0
John Maguire ...	9	0	0	18	10	0	13	5	0
Pat M'Keon	5	13	4	10	19	8	9	5	0

Raised in 1870.

CROTT.

Mick Sheridan ...	12	0	0	26	0	0	17	0	0
Thomas Reilly ...	2	11	2	6	8	0	3	0	0
Dan Kiernan.....	10	0	0	26	0	0	16	0	0
Mick Reilly	3	16	0	10	1	0	7	0	0
Francis Reilly ...	10	7	2	23	0	0	13	15	0

I have refrained from giving a descriptive account of the distressing scenes, that personally came under my notice in the above and adjoining counties, the public having already been made acquainted, with the detailed circumstances of some of these sorrowful pictures, through the various newspapers and periodicals; and the chief features in connection with these unfortunate cases are so similar to each other, that one case may be taken as typical of the rest.

I have now to place before my readers, the most graphic description of an EVICTION, which I am sure cannot fail to rouse a feeling of indignation, and regret, that under the present Government, and in the present generation, such atrocities, should be allowed to be perpetrated, in the name of the law. To intersperse comments with the following harrowing story would be a vandalism, as it would destroy the effect, and mar the picture, so ably and truthfully executed.

The Rev. Joseph Flood, P.P., in a letter dated Feb. 10th, 1880, addressed to the *Freeman's Journal*, briefly but expressively describes the scenes that are frequently taking place in different parts of Ireland. He commences thus:—

“In the midst of cries of distress around me, in the Cavan portion of my parish—while protestants and catholics here, as elsewhere, are struggling to keep together the soul and body of the victims of this year's visitation—I was hurried of to the Meath portion, no less distressed, to witness a scene—the first in my life—a heartless eviction of six whole families, thirty souls in all. When has this taken place? And why? Must be asked and must be answered! Am I to be silent and yet to witness such a scene in my parish this day? Surely not! And I claim respectfully, a space in the public journal, the *Freeman*.

At twelve o'clock to-day, in the midst of a drizzling rain, when every man's lips are busy discussing, how relief can be carried to this home and that, an imposing spectacle presented itself, through a quiet part of the parish of Kings County.

A carriage contained Mr. Hussey, Junr., son of the agent of the estate of Lord Gormanstown. Behind and before the carriage, came about a dozen of outside cars, with a resident magistrate, an inspector of police, about forty of Her Majesty's force, the Sheriff, and some dozen of as rapacious looking drivers and grippers, as ever I laid my eyes upon.

There is dead silence at the halt before the first doomed door. The silence was broken by

myself addressing the agent, craving to let the poor people in again, after the vindication of the law, when, to my disgust, but not to my dismay, one of the crowd is observed by me taking notes.

The Sheriff formally asks:—‘Have you the rent?’ The trembling answer is—‘My God! How could I have the whole rent, and such a rent, on such a soil, and in such a year as this?’ OUT, OUT—is the word; and right heartily the grippers go to work. On the dung-pit is flung the scanty furniture, bed, and bedding; a search is made for pig or goat, and forthwith they share the fate of the evicted master; the door is nailed, and the imposing army marches on to the next holding, till every house has been visited and every soul sent forth.

At this moment there is a downpour of rain on that miserable furniture—on that poor bed and bedding—and an old man, whose generations have passed their simple lives in that house, is sitting on a stone outside, with his head buried in his hands, thinking of the eighty-three years gone by. And are those tenants to blame? No; it is on the records of this parish that they were about the most simple-minded, hard-working, honest, and virtuous. Their only guilt is this, — that an AGREEMENT with my Lord Gormanstown, some five years ago, *disfranchising* them of any claim under the Land Act of 1870, and involving an intolerable rise of rent, together with the common misfortunes of the country, these few years past, and this in particular,—has left them entirely unable to pay the entire rent of this year. Yes—

entire rent. The half,—yea! nine-tenths,—of the rent would not be accepted. Priests joined the poor tenantry in petitioning again and again. No answer was given, but ‘Have you the whole rent?’ ‘Have you law expenses? If not, out you go.’

Deliberately I say it, this work may invite Russian Nihilism in Ireland; and deliberately I ask the Government, whom are they to blame for this visitation? They may smile at the distant visitor being threatened upon us; but there is a rapidity of thought abroad, to which men were not accustomed twelve months ago.”

Evictions, I can easily understand, are in many cases the breaking up of the family, and scattering the members in different directions. I can easily imagine, in depths of their poverty, the great evils and temptations to which they may be subjected. The following distressing case was mentioned by Mr. T. D. Sullivan, M.P., at a meeting lately held at Mullingar:—

“A priest had told him of one poor man dying in the Mullingar workhouse, who had once a happy home, and a virtuous family; he was thrown on the road side, not for arrears of rent, but because the landlord chose to clear the farms. The misery and the shame, which by this action he had to suffer, was hard enough to bear, and the recollection of the happy days he spent at home he could have forgotten, but amongst the members of his family he had a daughter, whom he left in that wretched abode. His daughter became a wretch, and she was lost. The poor father could have forgotten everything but that, and in his dying

hours he could not forget the author of his wrongs—the landlord who had turned him and his children out of their land.”

Is the present landlord tyranny in Ireland, which requires for its existence, the support of the tyrant's favourite weapon, brute force, and which produces the constant shedding of blood, to be for ever perpetrated? If so, then however dearly the Irish may love the land of their birth, the land of their forefathers, I venture to say it would be better for them, if they had the means, to leave their country, and seek those blessings in a foreign land which is denied them in their own.

A writer in the *Dublin Review* for January, 1881, fully endorses the opinions of the many writers on the wretched condition of the Irish peasantry, and shows that this sad state of things is produced, by the unfortunate relations, existing between landlord and tenant. Referring to the fact, of the landlord being furnished by law, with a despotic power, which enables him to enslave his tenant, the writer shows how generally it is taken advantage of, and how effectually it is exercised by these vampires. He declares that the tenantry are even afraid to furnish their miserable dwellings with decency, or to allow their wives and children to be properly clad, lest it might give rise to the suspicion, that more than a bare existence is being obtained from the land, and an increase of rent, consequently demanded and enforced. I cannot do better than give the writer's own account, which is as follows:—

“It is no exaggeration to say that, from the landlord's point of view, the sole right of the tenant

was to live—and even this was an amiable concession—to live in the poorest fashion; ill fed, roughly clad, and with no break in the monotony of his miserable life. The entire product of the soil—after furnishing the occupier with the very minimum of subsistence—was regarded as the legitimate revenue of the landlord. From this source have sprung the proverbial apathy and suspiciousness of the Irish tenants. What use in improving, if an increased rent is the penalty of exertion and outlay? And where is the premium on thrift, if hard-earned savings are to be appropriated, by the rapacious greed of a landlord? Not alone were permanent improvements in the farm, made the occasion of a rise in the rent, but even if the cottage assumed an air of neatness and cleanliness—if the farmer's wife was seen with a new cloak, or his toilet gave evidence of increased prosperity—the lynx-eyed bailiff would take a mental note, that this was a man who would bear the screw.

Can we wonder, then, at slovenly farming, dirty hovels, half-naked children, and reckless habits, when we find that for generations everything has been done to check industry and foster suspicion? A far-seeing, intelligent landlord would no doubt be delighted that his tenant should have a substantial balance at the bank; but in Ireland, if such a discovery had been made, it would have given rise to an outburst of indignation on the part of the landlord as unaffected as if the lodgment had been made with notes stolen from himself. Thence, the stocking and the thatch became the

hiding-place of the tenants' hoard; and instead of fructifying one-hundred-fold in the soil, it very often became the prey of fire and pillage. From this mode of treatment the Irish (as wild animals learn the fear of man) acquired a deep-seated suspiciousness, which must now be regarded as having taken a permanent place in the national character.

At the time of the famine, the people of Erris would not accept as a gift, the seed which was offered to them, for the purpose of sowing their land, fearing lest it was a ruse on the part of the landlords, to acquire a right to the crops. At the same terrible epoch, it was with the greatest difficulty, that the starving population of Mayo were induced to eat the Indian meal—Peel's brimstone, as they called it—being persuaded, that it was given to them, with the sinister design of turning them black. These instances speak for themselves, and illustrate the condition of mind, to which these poor creatures were reduced, by harsh treatment and habitual exaction. Everyone acquainted with the Irish peasantry, can recall many similar examples of distrust; all, we assert, to be explained by the insecurity of the tenant's position, and the necessity which he was under of habitual concealment."

The following is another extract from the same *Review*, wherein the writer faithfully portrays the misery endured by the Irish peasantry, and which he characterizes as an infliction beyond the limit of human endurance :—

"Let any parent make the case his own. When we are assembled at the domestic hearth, with our

family about us, let us bring home to our bosom the bare apprehension that, for exercising an undoubted privilege, not only recognised, but actually enjoined by the Constitution, it were in the power of some brutal tyrant, some abortive, stunted upstart of yesterday, of whom gold, amassed by speculation and public plunder, is the sole nobility, to put out our fire, and drive us away far from that pleasant home ; let us suppose him, by the word of his power, destroying our only means of providing, for that bright and joyous circle, and turning our children and ourselves adrift, to lead a VAGRANT, HOPELESS, SCRAMBLING LIFE, DISOWNED, REJECTED, PERSECUTED, AND MALIGNED ; could we bear it ? Where is the father's heart that could endure it ? What reverence for the LAW, what sacredness of private property, what abstract right of men to do as they pleased with their own, would be of force to restrain our hearts from dark imaginings, and our hands from giving them effect ? WE FRANKLY AVOW THAT WE WOULD NOT SUBMIT TO SUCH TREATMENT, but would take the law into OUR OWN HANDS, and, if possible, REDRESS OURSELVES. Our children have a RIGHT DIVINE to claim from us that PROTECTION which may be denied to them elsewhere ; and we cannot recognise any human obligation which should or could constrain us to respect such an appeal. NO MAN OWES A MORAL OBLIGATION to an EXTERMINATING DECREE. No man pretending or deserving to be free, would pay it an outward homage, one moment longer

than SUPERIOR FORCE COMPELLED HIM TO BOW HIS NECK under its intolerable yoke. These are our deliberate sentiments—the decisions of a mind tutored, perhaps, by some small share of philosophy, and, at all events, not provoked to a passionate or hasty judgment by the sense of personal wrong.”

Do not these accounts create surprise in the mind of the reader, that there are so few outrages committed by these unfortunate tenants on the perpetrators of these tyrannies.

The following letter taken from the *Freeman's Journal*, and dated November 10th, 1880, is well worthy of being recorded here. The writer is Major John Talbot D'Arcy, a Justice of the Peace, a Protestant, and an Irishman.

He commences thus :—

“ I beg to tell the *Express* that the class of Irishmen to which I belong, is the class who seek to stay the EVICTOR'S hand, to prevent the sad and HEART-RENDING SCENES of EXTERMINATION and DEPOPULATION.

Witnessing the ruthless expulsion, not of tens, but of hundreds of families, turned out of house and home, no house or farm to get, and no trade or profession to turn to, whereby to earn a livelihood for their families, no prospect but the POOR-HOUSE, it was witnessing those scenes, that led me to raise my voice against EVICTION. I sat on the bedside of an exterminator half an hour after his back was ploughed up by the slugs of the assassin. There was no Land League then.

I said to him—‘ The law ought not to leave

you the power, of endangering your own life ' He said the land was his own ; could he not dig it into the sea if he liked ? That is the doctrine of of the class, I won't say of Irishmen, but of men holding land in Ireland, represented by the *Express*.

I never belonged to them.

I belong to a class who grieve to see their countrymen in a state of CHRONIC STARVATION, who grieve to see the hat going round the world to save them from STARVATION, how grieve to see a peasantry living on the most fertile lands, their existence depending, on the absence of an extra summer shower or autumn flood, without one accumulated meal to fall back on."

The Major, in giving an account of his sad experience as a Guardian of the Poor for the Athlone Union, of which he was Vice-Chairman, continues :—

"In one day in February last I allocated charitable funds to feed 8,420 people. If allying myself to the party, who endeavour to have the laws, that we believe have brought the peasantry to that miserable condition, changed, the STATUTE LAWS OF EVICTION done away with, thereby fixing the tenant while paying a FAIR RENT in the land, makes me unworthy of the class the *Express* represents, I am quite content, but I must repudiate the charge of being a deserter, from the ranks in which I never served, and never shall, while they maintain the right to exterminate and depopulate the country."

His patriotism causes him to be charged with

being unworthy to profess himself a Christian, to which he replies :—

“As to the last charge of being unworthy of the creed I profess. That creed is protestant christianity.

That creed teaches me to do good, even on the sabbath, and I believe, to raise my voice on the sabbath, against the extermination of the Almighty's people is as much, if not more, in conformity with his wishes, as to pull my ox or my ass out of the ditch on his holy days. Now, repudiating the charge of communism, and apologizing for trespassing on your columns, and I will only say I think my taking the chair was of use to our cause, and notwithstanding the severe castigation of the *Express* I shall be prepared to fill the same position if required, so long as it is legal to do so.”

The preceding is one more of the many noble specimens of true heroism that has been exhibited by many of the Irish magistracy, for unless blinded by the pompous dignity of officialism, a magistrate in Ireland cannot fail to sympathize, with the unjust and cruel evictions, which are constantly under his notice.

CHAPTER IV.

Ha! banishment? be merciful, say—death;
 For Exile hath more terror in his look,
 Much more than death: do not say—banishment.

Romeo and Juliet, Act 3, Scene 3.

Mr. J. G. Kohl, a German, who, in the time of O'Connell, travelled in Ireland with the object of acquiring from personal investigation a thorough knowledge of the country, its people, customs and laws, and who was generally considered to be friendly towards England, wrote then, what might be written at the present time with the same degree of force and truth. He commenced by writing—
 “IRELAND'S LAND SYSTEM WAS AT THE
 ROOT OF ALL HER SUFFERINGS.”

It was true in those days, and it is to be deplored equally so at the present time. There can be little doubt but that the prevailing misery can, in a large measure, be attributed to the existing land system, that mammoth evil with its legions of satellites.

Mr. Kohl continues:—“In most of the civilised countries of Europe—in France by a revolution, in almost all the States of Germany by wise reforms, the nobility have been deprived of their old feudal rights over the oppressed and subjugated peasantry; and these, from serfs and slaves, have been turned into small free proprietors of the soil. Nay, even in Russia, within the last ten years, many introductory measures have been taken, towards making the peasants more independent of their lords, and gradually to give them, the ownership of the land

which they till. In England and Ireland only, people have not ventured even to think on the question, whether it would not be very wise to grant the poor serflike Irish farmers the freehold of their soil; or if this could not be effected without a revolution, at least to follow the example of Russia, Saxony, &c., and by reforms and measures introductory to changing the tenants at will into hereditary possessors, to regulate and reduce the rents of these tenants by law, and then to *permit*, and finally to *insist* on, the tenant's right to purchase his land; and by these means to form a class of free peasants and small independent landowners. No one has for a moment thought of inquiring, as has been done in France and Germany, nay even in the Baltic provinces of Russia, whether the peasant has not an older and better right to the soil, than the noble landowner who grew over his head gradually by force and oppression, and took away from him by degrees, the land of his fathers.

• There is in England so holy an awe of interfering with the rights of property as recognised by the State, that no one is capable of taking so comprehensive and elevated a view of the subject, as would enable him to perceive, that, under certain circumstances, it would be the highest wisdom for the State herself to violate these rights."

Mr. Kohl then goes on to speak of the titles by which the landed nobility of Europe hold their property and serfs, and remarks that where estates have been obtained by conquest, the State might justly take them away from the original conquerors, or

X Property S.C. Land & Serf. As Land is valueless to the Landlord without the "Serf". Here nearly the Serf is the Value, the Property

*The descendants of King James have the greater right to
be "Kingdom" as his father did - the Congress's period,
for!*

their descendants, could they be found, and restore them to the poor peasants from whom they had been wrested."

"Prussia," he says, "and other countries not only did this, but since they could not distinguish the just possessors from the unjust, they treated both alike, and compelled them, willing or unwilling, with or without title, to resign their pernicious and foolish privileges, and to accept a certain moderate indemnity. What Prussia and other countries have done towards a nobility with much better titles, people in Ireland do not dare even to *think* of doing with respect to a nobility with the worst of all possible titles. *no nobility*

Landowners growing, as it were, out of the people themselves, and possessing their estates from time immemorial, may be said not to exist in Ireland; for the old national-Irish nobles and landlords have, with few exceptions, been completely destroyed. The most honourable and best title an Irish family can show is force and conquest."

This assertion Mr. Kohl justifies by the statement that many Irish landlords obtained their claims to their property "by procuring confiscations in their favour, surreptitiously, by treachery, and fraud." He adds:—

Irish Land
"One can easily imagine by what villanies estates were acquired in a land where, for a long time, there existed a law by which a younger brother, on turning Protestant, could deprive his elder brother, or a son his father, of his estates. And to these villanies and frauds of their ancestors, most of the

land-owning families of Ireland can be proved to owe their estates. When lands are held by such titles as these, might not any reasonable Government justly interpose, and, if it could not be accomplished without a revolution, yet at least by gradual reform convert the poor tenants-at-will into peasant owners, so that the suffering millions may not for ever live in misery for the advantage of a few oligarchs ?”

It would be well if the force of reasoning such as this influenced the minds of the statesmen who are now about to legislate on the Irish question, and induce them to frame a measure that would confer a blessing on the present and future generations.

It is true that since the above was written the Land Act of 1870 has been passed, and that a portion of the grievances have been removed or ameliorated, but the hard fact still remains, that under the existing laws, the noble landowner is the tyrant of the peasant—and I would add a tyrant of the most cowardly form—as in absent-
ing himself, and employing an agent to concoct and carry out his harsh and unjust treatment of the tenantry, he not only proves himself utterly oblivious to their interest and welfare, but shows a want of moral courage which ought not, and is not supposed to be, a failing of true-hearted Englishmen. But the old saying, “Conscience makes cowards of us all,” is here verified.

I have before had occasion to favourably compare the land laws of France with those of our own country, and as a traveller, I would here

tell the agricultural labourer, the mechanic, and the small tradesmen, that it is positively refreshing to witness the contentment, the cheerful gaiety, and the happy independence which characterize the different classes of our French neighbours.

And to what is this due? Why, simply that the peasant is practically the owner of the soil, and that he possesses all the advantages for which the Land League is now contending. By his independent position, aided by his thrift, which is encouraged by his independence, he is enabled by the wise outlay of his capital to be the prime mover in the success of his co-labourers of the artizan and shopkeeping classes.

And these just laws make the true patriot, as was evidenced in the crisis through which France passed, when compelled to pay the war indemnity to Germany. The proprietors of the small holdings and the artizans had all their savings ready to sacrifice for their beloved country. In fact, as Mr. Arthur Arnold has truly said, "The national wealth, health, and happiness are involved in this matter;" And again he puts to his audience this pertinent question:—"Suppose that free land increased, as I believe it would, our agricultural population by three to five millions, would not every mill, every factory in the kingdom—would not the skilful labour of every working man receive thereby a higher value? You would have all those new customers for your productions, who would purchase them with the increased wealth which they obtained from a generous soil."

These remarks referred at the moment to the English Land Question, but apply equally to the case of the Sister Isle.

As previously stated in this work, peasant proprietary has succeeded in France, Prussia, Germany, Holland, Switzerland, Saxony, and elsewhere, therefore, I cannot conceive why it should not prosper in Ireland, a country which has been described by those who are considered authorities, one of the most fertile countries on the earth.

It is really pleasing to read the glowing descriptive accounts of various writers on the success attending peasant freeholdership on the Continent ; the one I append, illustrating the peasant's condition in Switzerland, portrayed by M. D. Sismondi, in "Studies in Political Economy," I consider both interesting, and typical of the success generally arising, through the establishment of small landed proprietaries in other countries :—

"It is especially Switzerland," says the above writer, "which should be traversed and studied to judge of the happiness of peasant proprietors. It is from Switzerland we learn that agriculture, practised by the very persons who enjoy the fruits, suffices to procure great comfort for a very numerous population ; a great independence of character arising from independence of position ; a great commerce of consumption, the result of the easy circumstances of all the inhabitants, even in a country whose climate is rude, whose soil is but moderately fertile, and whose late frosts and inconstancy of seasons, often blight the hopes of the cultivator. It is impossible to see without admiration, those timber houses of the poorest peasant, so vast, so well closed in, so covered with carvings ;

in the interior, spacious corridors separate the different chambers of the numerous family; each chamber has but one bed, which is abundantly furnished with curtains, bedclothes, and the whitest linen; carefully kept furniture surrounds it; the wardrobes are filled with linen; the dairy is vast, well aired, and of exquisite cleanness; under the same roof is a great provision of corn, salt meat, cheese, and wood; in the cowhouses are the finest and most carefully tended cattle in Europe; the garden is planted with flowers; both men and women are cleanly and warmly clad, the women preserve with pride their ancient costume; all carry in their faces the impress of health and strength. Let other nations boast of their opulence; Switzerland may always point with pride to her peasants."

The same eminent writer then expresses his opinions on peasant proprietorship in general:—

"Whenever we find peasant proprietors, we also find the COMFORT, SECURITY, CONFIDENCE IN THE FUTURE, AND INDEPENDENCE, which assure at once HAPPINESS and VIRTUE.

The peasant who, with his children, does all the work of his little inheritance; who pays no rent to any one above him; who eats his own corn, drinks his own wine, is clothed in his own hemp and wool, cares little for the prices of the market, and is never ruined by revulsions of trade.

Instead of fearing for the future, he sees in it the colours of hope, for he employs every moment, not required by the labours of the year, in something profitable to his children and to future

generations. A few minutes' work suffices to plant the seed, which, in a hundred years, will be a large tree; to dig the channel, which will conduct to him a spring of fresh water; to improve by cares often repeated, but stolen from odd times, all the species of animals and vegetables which surround him. His little patrimony is a true savings' bank, always ready to receive all his little gains, and utilize all his moments of leisure. The ever-acting power of nature returns them a hundred fold. The peasant has a lively sense of the happiness, attached to the condition of a proprietor.

The peasant proprietor is, of all cultivators, the one who gets most from the soil, for he is the one who thinks more of the future, and who has been most instructed by experience.

He is also the one who employs the human powers to most advantage, because, dividing his occupation among all the members of his family, he reserves some for every day in the year, so that nobody is ever out of work.

Of all cultivators he is the happiest; and at the same time the land nowhere occupies and feeds amply, without becoming exhausted, so many inhabitants, as where they are proprietors. Finally, of all cultivators, the PEASANT PROPRIETOR is the one who gives most ENCOURAGEMENT to COMMERCE and MANUFACTURES, because he is the richest."

It is unnecessary, I think, to comment upon the happy condition of the Swiss peasantry, in order to contrast it with the opposite or wretched condition of the Irish peasantry. If the passing of an

Act of Parliament can be the means of conferring such blessings upon the Irish people as our Continental neighbours enjoy, I sincerely hope and trust that my countrymen, the English people, will not be wanting in their endeavour to induce the legislators of the British House of Commons to frame a measure, that will have for its object, the establishment of TENANT PROPRIETARY IN IRELAND.

THE PEASANTRY OF SAXONY, Mr. Joseph Kay, M.A., Barrister at Law, in his work, "The Condition and Education of the people in England and Europe, says:—

"It is a notorious fact that in Saxony, during the last 30 years, and since the peasants became the proprietors of the land, there has been a rapid and continual improvement in the condition of the houses, in the manner of living, in the dress of the peasants, and particularly in the culture of the land. I can safely challenge contradiction when I affirm, that there is no farming in all Europe superior to to the laboriously careful cultivation, of the valleys of that part of Saxony. The peasants endeavour to outstrip one another in the quantity and quality of the produce, in the preparation of the ground, and and in the general cultivation of their respective portions."

What a desirable state of things is here so vividly portrayed. Notice the existence amongst the peasantry, of a noble rivalry, in endeavouring to excel in the successful results accruing to their labour on their respective portions of the land; such

would be the case in Ireland if the same conditions existed in respect to the ownership of the soil.

To the Saxon peasant the fruits of his increased energy, thrift, and industry, produce for him happiness, and provision for his old age, but unfortunately for the Irish peasant, the same attributes, too often result, in causing his expatriation, and, in some instances worse than that,—the felons cell—for the reason, that outraged humanity could wait no longer on judgment, and in a moment of frenzy, sought revenge, for what the Irish peasant thought a wrong but the English Law failed to recognise as such.



CHAPTER V.

O! it is excellent to have a giant's strength,
 But it is tyrannous to use it like a giant:
 But man, proud man! plays such fantastic tricks,
 Before high heaven, as make the angels weep.

Measure for Measure, Act 2, Scene 2.

Malcolm McColl, in the *Contemporary Review* for January, 1881, admits that "English misrule has borne bitter fruit in Ireland, and the tenants are for the most part the innocent victims of that misrule," and he contends that whatever self-sacrifice may be necessary to re-adjust on an equitable basis the relations of landlord and tenant in Ireland ought to be incurred.

Yet this gentleman like most English writers, while admitting the existence of infernal laws, that are the cause of indescribable miseries to a nation, must in some way or other say something that will in a great measure neutralize these sad admissions; and the course generally adopted, is either by calumniating the Irish people themselves, or those who make themselves conspicuous by agitating for the people's amelioration.

I know no one who has so distinguished himself in this crisis as Charles Stewart Parnell, the chief of the Land League agitation, and one of its founders: as Richard Cobden was to the Corn Law League, so I consider Charles Stewart Parnell, is to the Land League.

He and his supporters have succeeded in obtaining a promise from the English Government, that

the Land Laws shall be remedied, and I am certain that the promise must be kept. They have fought gallantly and well. If they have been guilty in the House of Commons, of what is termed by the English press OBSTRUCTION, it was a noble endeavour on their part, (and for which they will obtain the good wishes of millions of the Irish people, wherever they may be located,) to prevent a cruel majority of English Legislators, with shameless haste, inflict upon an already deeply afflicted country, the multitudinous miseries incidental to the enactment of COERCIVE MEASURES."

The above writer in the same *Review*, neutralizes as I before remarked, what little good might have attended his advocacy of the Irish people, by making the following groundless charge--

"The chief culprit is undoubtedly Mr. Parnell. A word from him, would have put a stop to barbarous outrages on man and beast, and that word he has not uttered, even in rebuke of the felonious suggestions, of some of his "hearers."

How the writer could be so prejudiced as to make such a statement I cannot conceive. I do not think he could point to one of Mr. Parnell's innumerable speeches, where he has not condemned, in the plainest and strongest language, the committal of outrage of every description, and characterized those who commit them, as enemies to the party who are now contending for the removal, by constitutional means, of what they consider is one of the chief grievances in Ireland.

The writer also, I may say, slurs over the admission of atrocities by the evictions, but seems

to sound a pæan of triumph, when he endeavours to prejudice the public mind, by his reference to the outrages committed by the poor wretches, who, goaded to desperation by tyranny, and animated by a revenge (which to say the least has been provoked), commit a deed, which, while it cannot be justified, according to the laws of God and humanity, can certainly be greatly palliated by the motives to which it is attributable.

Notwithstanding the great number of speeches that have been delivered by Mr. Parnell, he has only been once justly accused, of advising the people to do something that was a violation of the law, and it was in the course of a speech delivered at Clara, in King's County, at the end of February, 1881.

He unwittingly advised the tenant farmers when they were on the eve of being evicted, to call in their neighbours and plough up the ground. But afterwards, learning that this would be a violation of an old act of parliament, he immediately took means to recall his words, and to cancel the advice given to the people on that occasion.

I do not think I can do better than give the letter in full, as it will clearly show that he, for one, could not sanction any action that would violate any law however absolute or iniquitous it might be:—

“In my speech at Clara on Sunday, I recommended tenants who were about to be evicted, to call on their neighbours a few days before the eviction, and plough up the ground. Since then, my attention has been directed, to the fact of which

I was in ignorance, that a tenant ploughing his land under such circumstance, might be held to be guilty of a crime, (which under one of the many cruel, barbarous, and exceptional acts, passed by landlord legislatures in days gone by, for the maintenance of landlord iniquity,) would render him subject to penal servitude for seven years.

While I am perfectly willing to accept the consequences of my own acts in this movement, I have always carefully abstained, from recommending others to break the law. Feeling that the counsel given by me at your meeting might lead to such results, I feel it my duty at this the earliest opportunity, in the most public manner, to withdraw the advice given as to ploughing the land, as I cannot justify any action against the criminal law, however iniquitous that law may be.—Yours truly,

CHARLES S. PARNELL."

Lord Sherbrooke in arguing against peasant proprietaries, contends that, "land so divided would fill the country with a wretched population." I beg to remind his Lordship that this unfortunate result has not been the case in other countries, but the very opposite has occurred. I fail to see, and Lord Sherbrooke fails to show, why Ireland should be considered an exceptional case. Is it not more feasible, that the changed circumstances would be, as described by the Rev. David Humphreys, C.C., of Tipperary—

"When the Irish tenant farmers are made proprietors, they will have the means of educating their children. An educated Irishman will

not settle down to live on a few acres of land, whilst he sees wealth, and perhaps eminence open to him, in many other walks of life. And here I wish to say a few words on, the suicidal policy which England has followed, in her legislation in the matter of education towards Ireland. There is, and has ever been, plenty of talent of the highest order in Ireland. Most of this talent has been lost through the means of cultivating it. England has deprived herself of the services of many an able man by her foolish policy towards Ireland. The history of the world has shown what educated Irishmen can do. They have risen to the highest positions in foreign countries, and they have held their own in all the services of the empire. In ability, in eloquence, in debating power, the Irish members are second to no members in the House of Commons. Ireland has given to England some of her greatest military captains in the past, and to what country belong her most distinguished military officers of the present day? Irish heart, Irish arms, directed by Irish heads, have, in large measure, contributed to place England in her present proud position before the world."

The English people are told, by those who are opposed to all laws which are likely to lessen the discontent in Ireland, that the principal cause of the poverty and distress in that country, is the laziness of the inhabitants. I have found that in America, Australia, and in England itself, that the Irish wherever you may find them are at any rate hard workers. In the United States especially their talent and industry, have caused them to be

a power in the land, and the prominent positions in the Cities and at Washington are filled to a great extent, by the Irish or their descendants. And why does the Irishman work when he is away from home? Because he feels that he is not oppressed, but will have a fair day's wage for a fair day's work, and that by being thrifty, and acquiring enough wherewith to erect a homestead, he will not be cruelly evicted or subjected to the miseries which accompany unjust land laws; in fact he will be the proprietor of his own soil, and he will work with a will to make the land productive and profitable. It is a gross calumny to charge them as a race with laziness, as the travelled Englishman must know full well.

The chief and, I might say, only aim of the Land League, is to establish Tenant Proprietary, and judging from the language of Mr. Gladstone, in a speech at West Calder, on the 27th of November, 1879, I would consider him a disciple of the Land League, for he quite approves the principal object for which they are contending. He says:—

“There are some persons, for whom I have a great respect, who think that the difficulties of our agriculture may be got over, by a fundamental change in the landholding system of our country. I mean those who think, that if you can cut up the land of the country into a multitude of small properties, that of itself will solve the difficulty. TO A PROPOSAL OF THAT KIND, I, FOR ONE, AM NOT GOING TO OBJECT THAT IT WOULD BE INCONSISTENT WITH

THE PRIVILEGES OF LANDED PROPRIETORS, IF IT IS GOING TO BE FOR THE WELFARE OF THE COMMUNITY AT LARGE. The Legislature are perfectly entitled to buy up the landed proprietors, for the purpose of dividing the country into small lots. In principle, no objection can be taken to it. Those persons who possess large portions of the earth's space, are not altogether in the same position as the possessors of mere personality. Personality does not impose limitations on the action and industry of man, and the well-being of the community, as possession of land does; and, therefore, I freely own that compulsory expropriation is a thing which is admissible, and even sound in principle."

Nothing can be more liberal or plain than the above statement. We have yet to see how far the coming Land Measure will be consistent, with the views expressed at West Calder.

In answer to those who consider Ireland over-peopled, and also advocate emigration or expatriation, I give the opinion of Sir Robert Kane, who, speaking in reference to the soil, said "that Ireland, under proper management, should comfortably support 20 million people;" M. de Beaumont considered it capable of maintaining 25 millions, while Arthur Young even goes so high as 100 millions. However, I think there can be no doubt, that the cause of the present distress, is not in any way due to over-population.

The following comparisons of population to the square mile speak for themselves:—

Belgium	...	...	...	...	...	...	469
England and Wales	...	...	...	...	...	...	389
Italy	...	...	...	...	...	...	238
Germany	...	...	...	...	...	...	201
Holland	...	...	...	...	...	...	185
France	...	...	...	...	...	...	180
Switzerland...	...	...	...	...	...	...	175
Austria	...	...	...	...	...	...	175
Ireland	...	...	...	...	...	...	169

In times past, when Ireland has suffered as much and more as last year, the House of Commons and the House of Lords have, on many occasions, appointed a committee to receive evidence, and endeavour to ascertain the cause of distress, with the avowed object of preventing a recurrence of these sad famines.

The evidence most invariably pointed to the fact that the arbitrary land laws were chief causes. I subjoin some of the evidence given before a select Committee of the House of Lords, which I have taken from the very excellent work of T. M. Healy, M.P., entitled "Why there is an Irish Land Question?" Sir Frankland Lewis said, "nothing is more striking in Ireland than, that a number of burdens which English landlords are willing to take upon themselves, the Irish landlords do not find it necessary to take upon themselves. In the maintenance of a farm in England, all the expensive part of the capital employed on a farm is provided by the landlord; the houses, the gates, the fences, and the drains, are all provided by the landlords. Everybody knows that in Ireland such is not the practice; at the same time, that the landlord

obtains as rent in Ireland, a much larger proportion of the value of the produce of the land than he obtains in England; and in parts of Ireland it appears to me that the landlord sometimes obtains for rent, more than is produced by the land." There is nothing stated in Sir Frankland Lewis's evidence that cannot be verified at the present time.

Mr. Nimmo, the eminent engineer, also gave evidence before the same Committee. He stated :

"I conceive the peasantry of Ireland to be, in general, in the lowest possible state of existence. Their cabins are in the most miserable condition, and their food—potatoes, with water, without even salt. I have frequently met persons who begged of me, on their knees, to give them some promise of employment, that from the credit of that they might get the means of support."

"To what cause do you attribute this state of things?" Mr. Nimmo was further asked.

He replied :—"It is unquestionable that the great cause of the miserable condition of the people and of the prevailing disturbances, is the management of land. There is no means of employment, and no certainty that the peasant has, of existence for another year, but by getting possession of a portion of land, on which he can plant potatoes. The landlord has, in the eyes of the peasant, the right to take from him in a summary way, everything he has, if he is unable to execute those covenants into which he has been obliged to enter from the dread of starvation.

There are some who will tell you, that contracts entered into under such circumstances, ought

to be scrupulously observed by them, and in case of non-observance on their part, they merit the most terrible consequences, that can be inflicted by an unmerciful despot."

Mr. Nimmo was asked if he attributed the distressed state of Ireland, to the power which resided in the landlord, and to its abuse, to which he replied :—" I conceive that there is no check to that power. It appears to me that, under the cover of law, the landlord may convert that power to any purpose he pleases. The consequence is, that, when he wishes, he can extract from the peasant every shilling beyond bare existence, which can be produced by him from the land. The lower order of peasantry can thus never acquire anything like property ; and the landlord, at the least reverse of price, then has it in his power to seize, and does seize, his cow, bed, potatoes in ground, and everything he has, and dispose of the property at any price."

Can anyone imagine a people to be in a more abject state of slavery than is above described ? Does it not clearly establish the potency of law, good or bad, and that, though laws can be made that can ennoble a people, yet laws can and have been made that will effectually subjugate and degrade a nation, I venture to declare that the Land Laws have not been wanting in this latter respect.

It is not often harm befalls those wretches who are hired to wield the crow-bar, and those other appliances that have been invented for the more expeditiously felling of human habitations, but

whenever anything does unfortunately occur to them, I have been frequently struck with amazement at the great sympathy that is excited in this country on their behalf. I would be very sorry to attempt to justify any outrage on these human monsters, or those who employ them; but at the same time in deploring these crimes, it is only fair, that we take into consideration those causes that might directly or indirectly lead to their commission. I think, in the following evidence, Lord John Russell is not far wrong in describing the causes of violence and crime in Ireland. His lordship said, in reference to the Devon Commission:—

“However ignorant many of us may be of the state of Ireland, we have here (in the Devon Commission) the best evidence that can be procured—the evidence of persons best acquainted with that country—of magistrates of many years’ standing, of those who have been employed by the Crown; and all tell you that the possession of land, is that which makes the difference between existing and starving amongst the peasantry, and that, therefore, ejections out of their holdings, are the cause of violence and crime in Ireland. In fact, it is no other than the cause, which the great master of human nature describes, when he makes a tempter suggest it as a reason to violate the law:—‘Famine is in thy cheeks, need and oppression stareth in thine eyes, upon thy back hangs ragged misery. The world is not thy friend, nor the world’s law; the world affords no law to make thee rich. Then be not poor, but break it.’”

Mr. Gladstone made use of the above extract in justification of his Land Bill, 1870.

Dr. Drew, a popular Presbyterian minister, wrote to Mr. Isaac Butt a graphic description of the peasant.

There is something solemnly convincing in the letter referred to from a Protestant minister. It depicts the effect of hardship and tyranny upon the minds of the peasantry.

Suffering and injustice have so cowed them, that the inherent frankness of the Irish character seems to be utterly lost, and despair has made them an abject, cringing, and deceitful population; their only chance of receiving a favour, or a small modicum of relaxation in their treatment, being that doled out by the Jack-in-Office Agent, as a reward for their sycophancy. Dr. Drew writes:—

“I wish my lot had never been cast in rural places. As a clergyman, I hear what neither landlord nor agent ever hear. I see the depression of the people; their sighs and groans are before me; they are brought so low, as often to praise and glorify those, who, in their sacred hearts, are the object of their abhorrence; all this came out gradually before me. Nor did I feel, as I ought to feel in their behalf, until, in my own person and purse, I became the victim of a system of tyranny, which cries from earth to heaven for relief. Were I to relate my own story, it would startle many.”

Mr. Bunn, an Englishman, in his “Miseries and Beauties of Ireland,” says, “The wrongs which the Irish tenants have endured, would have JUSTIFIED a course of conduct incomparably more

*Jack-in-the office
Jack-in-the-Box } they Jack-Cards
Jack-in-the-Allan } are all known*

violent than any which Ireland, in her wildest moments, or her fiercest paroxysms of excitement, has displayed."

Ireland is not a country inhabited by savages and barbarians, as some of the enemies of Ireland endeavour to make the English believe; but their character is truly described by Lord Dufferin, when he said, speaking of Ireland, "It is inhabited by A RACE VALIANT, TENDER, GENEROUS, GIFTED BEYOND MEASURE WITH THE POWER OF PHYSICAL ENDURANCE, AND GRACED WITH THE LOVELIEST INTELLIGENCE."

Are the Irish tenantry indolent? Lord Palmerston says, "The tenantry of Ireland, when they receive encouragement, and have reason to believe that their exertions will meet with a due reward, are as much inclined to industrious exertion, as the tenantry of ANY PART OF THE WORLD."

Has Ireland received justice from England? Is not England responsible for the present discontent in Ireland? Is not its present and past discontent and wretchedness the result of vile enactments? Remove the cause, and then there will be no necessity for Coercion Bills, to prevent the people from giving expression to their sentiments, on their deplorable and slavish condition. Read what Professor Blackie, of Edinburgh says in respect to English Government of Ireland:—

"Among the many acts of baseness branding the English character, in their blundering pretence of governing Ireland, not the least was the practice of confiscating the land, which, by real law

belonged to the people, and giving it to honest resident cultivators, which might have been a polite sort of theft, but to cliques of greedy and grasping oligarchs, who did nothing for the country they had appropriated but suck its blood in the name of land rent, and squander its wealth under the name of fashion and pleasure in London."

Lord Kimberley, in the House of Lords, 1864, said—"It was impossible for England to perform its duties to Ireland so long as no attempt was made to deal with the important question of the tenure of land. He implored the Irish landed proprietors not to pass it by. The landed proprietors were supported by the force of the United Kingdom in maintaining themselves in a position which, he was convinced, IF IRELAND STOOD ALONE, they could not possibly contain, AND THIS COUNTRY WAS STRICTLY RESPONSIBLE FOR SEEING THAT ITS MILITARY FORCE WAS NOT APPLIED IN PERPETUITY TO SAVE THE LANDOWNERS FROM MEASURES WHICH THEY HAVE NEGLECTED TO PROVIDE, and which might otherwise be forced on them."

The great evil existing in Ireland is this, that the Irish people, the Irish nation in fact, is dispossessed of the soil which is their birthright; and it is the duty of our representatives, without regard to either creed or locality which they represent, to demand from any government which may be in power, a sweeping measure of reform, which shall entirely and for ever settle this matter, on the broad lines of TRUTH, RIGHT, and JUSTICE.

Of you & your Present-attitudes & your responsibilities

to put out of them & do justice for you

Shirley & Ormish in the House of Commons

Speaking of the evils of entailed estates, Mr. John Bright once addressed the House of Commons as follows:—

The Government should pass a law by which the system of entailing estates should for the future be prevented. (Laughter). I can assure those gentlemen who laugh at this, that at some distant day this must be done, and not in Ireland only, but in England also. It is an absurd and monstrous system, for it binds as it were the living under the power of the dead. The principle on which the law should proceed is this; that the owner of property should be permitted to leave it to whomsoever he will, provided the individual is living when the will is made, but he should not be suffered, after he is dead and buried, and forgotten, to speak and still to direct the channel, through which the estate is to pass. If the laws of entail and primogeniture are sound and just, why not apply them to personal property as well as to freehold? Imagine them in the middle classes of the community, and it will be seen at once that the unnatural system, if universal, would produce confusion, and confusion would necessitate its total abolition."

When Mr. John Bright gave expression to the above language he was not in office, and therefore suffered no restraint in the freedom of his speech.

I feel, however, convinced that Mr. Bright is at heart, consistent to the line of thought contained in the foregoing extracts from his speeches. Hampered as he may be in striking at once, he will continue to agitate in any government to which he

may belong, and will eventually succeed in carrying his points.

The area of Ireland contains about 20,000,000 acres. Of this—

About 450 persons claim to own 2,300,000 acres.

„ 130	„ „	1,300,000	„
„ 90	„ „	1,800,000	„
„ 14	„ „	700,000	„
„ 3	„ „	300,000	„

And 1 person is proprietor of 170,000 „

About 230 persons own one-third of the island, and 740 persons are owners of above 9,600,000 acres, or nearly one-half of the entire country.

I find also by statistics, that nine-tenths of the land of Ireland is held by tenants at will, and that most of the improvements are made by, and at the tenant's expense and labour. What security have these people against eviction? Why experience has proved beyond doubt they have practically none. Even the payment of an excessively high or rack-rent is not even a security. Lord Clarendon, in a speech at West Herts Agricultural Society, on the 26th September, 1869, said, "If he were to take a farm at will, upon which the landed proprietor never did, and never intended to do anything, and were to build upon the farm a house and homestead, and effectually drain the land, and then be turned out on a six months' notice by his landlord, would any language be strong enough, not forgetting the language made use of at the public meetings, and in the press recently in this country, to condemn such A FELONIOUS ACT as that."

The following is another apt illustration from the same enlightened source, Mr. John Bright:—

“It is in the ETERNAL DECREES OF PROVIDENCE, that so long as the population of a country is prevented, from the possibility of possessing any portion of their native soil, by legal enactments and legal chicanery, then outrages should be committed, were they but as beacons and warnings to call the Legislature to a sense of the duties it owes to the country which it governs!”

On another occasion Mr. Bright said:—

“Look at the condition of the Irish tenantry. If Ireland was removed two thousand miles out to sea —(I suppose he means America)—and our present land laws maintained, all your landlords would be exterminated.”

Lord Dufferin, in reference to agricultural tenants, says, “What is a yearly tenancy? Why, it is an impossible tenure; a tenure which, if its terms were to be literally interpreted (and it is too often the case in Ireland), no Christian man would offer, and none but a madman accept.” Unfortunately, there are too many who call themselves Christians, and like to be considered such, who are only too ready to take advantage of any Act of Parliament, that might assist them in the committal of an inhuman act, if it will conduce to their pecuniary benefit. True, the poor peasants are made to accept such outrageous conditions, and, at the time of acceptance, are fully conscious of the unfairness of the same, and are still equally aware that they are dealing with men who have no more feelings of humanity, or sense of justice, than had

Shylock. But what can the unfortunate slaves do? They cannot object—they must comply; it is the only source open to them. So they try and eke out a slavish pittance; if they fail to obtain that, then they are left to choose between starvation and expatriation. Since England has, for her own benefit, by several Acts of Parliament destroyed most of the manufacturing industries of Ireland—since that fact is well known and admitted on all sides—there is no use of entering fully into that question. It is evident, however, that the agricultural question affects, not only the peasantry, but all other branches of industry; and that if a large class suffer, their other connections must do so also, although perhaps less acutely for the time being.



CHAPTER VI.

Therein, ye Gods, you make the weak most strong :

Therein, ye Gods, you tyrants do defeat.

Julius Cæsar, Act 1, Scene 3.

Even the clergy find that they would be guilty of a dereliction of duty, if they did not express their opinion on the present land laws. At a meeting of the Irish Bishops at Maynooth, at which fourteen prelates were present ; the Archbishop of Dublin presiding, it was unanimously agreed :—

“ That as we are charged by Almighty God, not not only with the guardianship of the faith and morals of our flocks, but also with the care of the poor and oppressed members of our fold, we feel constrained by a solemn sense of our obligations to declare once more that the present state of the land code of Ireland is intrinsically dangerous to the peace and happiness of our people, and that mutual confidence between the various orders of society can never be finally established until our land code shall undergo a searching and thorough reform ; that being thus convinced of the necessity of such reform, we earnestly deprecate all faltering legislation on this vital question, and we hereby record our conviction that such legislation, no matter how well intentioned, so far from allaying universal discontent, will intensify the existing evils and will only add to the already angry agitation ; that our confidence in the good sense and generous feelings of our flocks being unshaken, we are persuaded that the immediate introduction into

Parliament of a Land Bill framed on principles of justice to all existing rights, would be certain to call back peace and a sense of security to all classes, and that we cannot refrain from giving expression to the fears entertained by many, that should order seem to reign by the power of coercion, a branch of the legislature, which is regarded as unfavourable to popular rights, may either totally reject or substantially nullify, any measure of practical utility submitted to its consideration, the result of which we cannot contemplate without serious alarm."

Nothing could be more consistent with the duties of the spiritual leaders of an excitable people, than the above straightforward declaration. The Irish have ever shown themselves amenable to the instructions of the heads of their faith, and throughout this agitation the clergy have behaved with loyalty and prudence; without sacrificing their convictions as to the necessity of new and juster laws for their people, they have ever counselled submission to the authority of the law, until that law shall, through fair agitation, be made to suit the requirements of the country.

Subjoined is a portion of a letter dated January 25th, 1881, and addressed to the Pope, in answer to a communication from His Holiness to the Bishops. The letter is signed by Edward McCabe, Archbishop of Dublin, in the name of all the Archbishops and Bishops present at a meeting held at Maynooth.

The Bishops discussed the lamentable results from the unjust land laws, and "the iniquitous and destructive legislation which for centuries has

been rending Ireland, has brought the flocks placed under our care to the greatest want and misery. Famine periodically sweeps over our fairest districts, which naturally teem with abundance and are fertile in the highest degree; and frequently our country has been driven to stretch out her hand for alms and sue, like a mendicant, for help from the other nations of Christendom. These repeated misfortunes must not be impiously attributed to the Father of Mercies, for He has given us a land fertile to a proverb. They must not be attributed to the sloth or indolence of our people, for the Irish in exile are everywhere models of unwearied labour and devoted industry. But they must be attributed to the unjust laws which at home have paralysed the strong man's arm, and, through an absolute sense of insecurity, have made him apathetic and hopeless."

The Bishops, while endorsing the action of those who are advocating the reform of the land laws, do not fail to denounce and at the same time express regret for the crimes that have been committed during the agitation.

"At present the Irish nation, rising from its lethargy in strength and power, demands the repeal of the cruel laws which oppress her, and we earnestly pray that God may bless this just struggle, and bring it to a happy issue and the desired result. WE MUST NOT, HOWEVER, CONCEAL THE FACT THAT, ALTHOUGH THE CAUSE IS MOST JUST IN ITSELF, OCCURRENCES AND UTTERANCES WHICH WE ALL DEPLORE HAVE FROM TIME

TO TIME CAST A SHADOW OVER IT."

Their Lordships do not fail to point out the great temptation to commit wrong the people have had to contend with:—"But, whilst we rightly denounce these crimes, and regard their perpetrators as the most dangerous enemies of their country, we cannot forget the ages of oppression and misery which have driven our people to despair of justice and equity.

Whilst, therefore, we give our heartfelt approval to the end proposed to be obtained by the present agitation, for a change in the land laws, we feel that certain means have been employed towards the attainment of this end, which we cannot sanction. Hence even in June last, assembled in council, we advised and warned our flocks against the dangers which threatened their cause, and we strove to confine the agitation within the limits of equity and moderation.

We will not be wanting in our endeavours that the Irish nation, in her present anxious position, may not pass the boundaries of equity and justice."

In speaking of the calumny and misstatements of part of the English press, their Lordships conclude by saying:—

WE CANNOT IGNORE THE FACT THAT IN CERTAIN JOURNALS WHICH ARE PUBLISHED IN ENGLAND MANY STATEMENTS ARE MADE WHICH ARE BASED ONLY ON LIES AND CALUMNIES, AND ARE MOST UNJUST TO OUR CLERGY AND COUNTRY."

Dr. Nulty, the Bishop of Meath, speaking at a

banquet to the clergy and laity of the diocese, held in St. Mary's College, Mullingar, on Feb. 8th, 1881, said :—

“He deprecated and condemned any excesses that might accompany the agitation, every good man did so, but they were not responsible, neither was the agitation. He assured them that to him and the Land League there was nothing they detested, abhorred, and deprecated more than those disgraceful outrages that had brought ruin and shame on the country. Now, referring to what he had in an humble way done, to raise his voice against the oppression, against the men who caused misery, pain, and sorrow to our poor people in this country, he could only say that he had done so, and he would do so again.

He never would stand by and look with complacency, or even patience, at the ruin and desolation that landlords had brought upon this part of the country. EVICTION CAN AND DOES OFTEN TAKE PLACE, EVEN WHERE THERE IS NO RENT OWING.

He had been summoned to the late State trials as a witness, and was prepared to give testimony to the facts that he had seen with his own eyes. He had seen seven hundred people turned adrift on the wide world in one day, or rather in two—for it took two days. He had seen their houses levelled to the ground and demolished, while not a single person inside these houses owed one farthing's rent but one, and that one went round and encouraged the others not to pay their rents. But they did pay them, and he saw the crowbar brigade levelling the

houses of honest men to the ground—houses that sheltered seven hundred human beings. He saw them come to one place where, there were in two houses fever-stricken victims, and the crowbar brigade refused to take them down. Death was very busy there, and they were afraid of catching the disease.

But the exterminators were determined to carry out their work. They put a winnowing-sheet over these poor sick girls, took the roof from the house, and the exterminator told them to do it carefully, 'for,' said he, 'I hate the bother of coroner's inquests.' The house was levelled, and next day his lordship attended these girls and administered the last rites of the Church to them whilst there was no covering over their heads but the canopy of heaven. He saw the police officers, strong rough men, but who had hearts in their bosoms, blubbering like children at the sights of horror that met their eyes. The poor girls—it was in September, with equinoxial gales blowing, saturated with wet, and with streaks of soot upon their famished faces—presented with the whole scene the saddest and most awful spectacle of suffering humanity he had ever witnessed. He was present in court to give evidence of scenes like these, but he would not be allowed. He remembered one instance where a man came forward and offered eight years rent in advance if he would be allowed to remain in his little home, but was refused."

His Lordship, in referring to the few outrages that had been committed, said—

"He would not grudge to see the perpetrators of

these outrages in jail; but these outrages had been exaggerated beyond all reason and truth. That outrages had been committed was beyond all doubt, but those who committed them were not their friends, but they were the friends of the landlords. They repudiated them, and he had himself denounced them a hundred times. The system of land tenure in this country had been so completely exposed that no one had a word to say in its favour, and but for these outrages the landlords themselves would not have a word to say."

In speaking of the hostility entertained by the magistracy to those who connected themselves with the agitation he says—

"The greatest crime that any man can commit in the eye of the magistrates was to connect himself with the land agitation. The man, therefore, who had founded a branch of the Land League, or made himself in any way remarkable in that agitation, was guilty of an unpardonable offence in the eye of these magistrates."

He drew their attention to the good effects of the Land League, saying—

The Land League has put the Government under the necessity of promising a Land Bill."

His Lordship alludes to a large number of meetings that have been suppressed by the Government without just cause, remarking—"The object of the Government clearly was the suppression of this land agitation, to put down the expression of public grievances, and stifle public opinion. If that object should succeed, what would be the result? They would not stifle the agitation of the

Land League, but they would convert the open agitation of the Land League into a SECRET AGITATION.

They would, he was afraid, convert these local branches into secret societies, and the whole country would be covered with secret societies—with Fenianism and Ribbonism—the country would become ungovernable, and the landlords themselves would have to run for their lives. He referred to the Bessborough Land Commission, as showing how public opinion had forced the justice of the tenants' cause, upon even these who might be supposed to be adverse to their claims. The Land League orators had by their exertions, created a golden opportunity, by which Gladstone's Government could cover themselves with imperishable glory. Instead of that they had inundated the country with police and military "

Speaking about the effects a just Land Bill would have upon the people he said—"If even now, Gladstone would bring in a good Land Bill, which he hoped he would, establishing the principles of the three F's, with peasant proprietary, as quickly as practicable, the 600,000 tenant farmers in Ireland would become the most loyal and efficient troops, Her Majesty could have in this country; happiness and prosperity would reign, outrages would vanish, and there would be no more peaceable country in the world. He hoped that a Land Bill satisfactory to the people would be passed, and if so this country would be one of the most flourishing in the British Empire, and he hoped its temporal prosperity would be in some sense equal to its spiritual prosperity, for, as to the morals of the Irish people, in that respect there was no nation their superior."

CHAPTER VII.

And our oppression hath made up this league.

King John, Act 3, Scene 1.

The following is an extract from a letter written in February of this year by the Most Rev. Dr. Nulty, Bishop of Meath, addressed to the clergy and laity of his diocese, in defence of the Land League agitation.

He writes:—"The present land movement exhibits all the symptoms of a thoroughly effective remedy for this chronic social malady. Voluntary and peaceful combination by tenant-farmers to attain their just rights, accompanied by a stern but discriminating ostracism of traitors, is the principle on which it is founded.

That principle is not novel or strange, for it underlies all the numerous and influential corporations, which are known in these islands by the name of trades unions. Voluntary combination is the soul that animates these organisations; it is the source of their efficiency and strength. But although the *principle itself* is not new, its application by tenant-farmers against their landlord masters is quite new; and, notwithstanding the astonishing simplicity of the 'new use' now made of it, to Mr. Parnell, belongs the credit of being the first to discover it. I think it was the famous J. J. Rousseau, that observed, that, 'the highest philosophy was to discover the great practical truths that are lying at our feet all our lives long.'"

There can be no doubt that the above remarks directed towards Boycotting, are perfectly correct,

and must so appear to every thinking and business man. There can be no great good, without some mixture of evil, and strong remedies are at all times somewhat distasteful, but the principle here involved is perfectly legal, and has proved itself an efficient weapon for the good of the cause.

The Bishop continues:—"The practical developments of this principle, in the organisations thus founded on it are substantially at least the same in both. As trades-unionists combine for the purpose of extorting from reluctant capitalists, a fair remuneration for their labour, so tenant-farmers unite their scattered energies in a combined effort, to protect themselves from being despoiled of their honest earnings, by a class of men, who were never known voluntarily, to have left them what would enable them to live as civilised human beings.

Trades-unionists, through the passive but powerful intervention of 'strikes,' force their employer to make a fair division of the enormous profits, he often draws from the high prices of commodities which their labour, as well as his capital, co-operate to produce. In like manner, tenant-farmers, now offer an united resistance to the usurpation of landlords who plunder them substantially of the whole of the agricultural products, which their labour and capital extracted from the soil, and to the production of which, the landlord's capital or industry never contributed anything."

His Lordship unmistakeably displays a thorough knowledge of the question, and the free, open, and unbiassed manner in which he speaks, is worthy of notice.

In describing the result, so far as effected by the agitation, he says, "There is a likelihood that rack-rents, exterminations, and the grim and ghastly exploits of the crowbar brigade are past and gone for ever. And this is only the beginning of the wonderful results of the land movement which Mr. Parnell has originated."

Speaking of the wide spread interest the land movement has enkindled, he says, "It has already attracted the attention and awakened the keenest interest in America, as well as in Europe. I can bear personal testimony to the fact, that its merits or demerits are canvassed almost as carefully in the French and Italian journals as in our own.

The hideous injustice of the present system of land tenure, which this movement assails, has been vehemently denounced by statesmen in every age, as well as by Mr. Gladstone, and Mr. Bright, in our own.

Good landlords themselves, felt ashamed of the arbitrary power it placed in their hands, particularly when they saw it had been so frightfully abused. It is, moreover, responsible for the forced expatriation of the larger section of our race, and for the degradation, and impoverishment of the smaller that remained at home, not to talk of the thousands upon thousands, whom, through hunger and starvation, it sent to premature graves.

Though everyone who thought at all admitted its injustice, no one till now ever succeeded in pointing out practical and effective means, for putting an end to it. Mr. Gladstone's Land Bill of 1870, instead of mitigating, has positively aggra-

vated and infused fresh vitality and vigour, into many of the most galling of its characteristic injustices. But the present Land Movement, exhibits all the symptoms of a thoroughly effective remedy, for this chronic social malady. Voluntary and peaceful combination by tenant farmers, to attain their just rights, accompanied by a stern but discriminating ostracism of traitors, is the principle on which it is founded."

The Bishop hits upon a happy and powerful argument, when he compares the action of the Irish Tenant Farmers with those of the Trade Unionists in this country, clearly proving, that the present agitation in Ireland, is carried on as honestly as is possible under the circumstances. He says:—

"In one particular, however, the moderation and sense of justice, shown by the tenant farmers, stands in striking contrast with the rapacity of trade unionists who, when they have the power, never leave their employer more than the ordinary profits of trade on his capital, and often allow him no profits at all. Trades unionists have often disgraced themselves by extorting from their employers not only all that was just, but all that was possible, for them to take from him.

The action taken by the tenant farmers shows that they have repudiated that principle. They have not, therefore, fallen back on their own personal interested views, for what they might of the landlord's property, or for the amount of rent which was justly due to him for the use of it. As far as I know, at least, they regard as an equitable estimate of the value

have universally accepted Sir Richard Griffith's valuation, as a standard of justice for determining the amount of their indebtedness to their landlords.

If anyone should say that Griffith's valuation was defective, he cannot, at any rate, maintain that it is one-sided, for it tells equally against both interests, and, on the other hand, its ability, its impartiality, and its justice in the main far exceed those of any other valuation now accessible. Thus the tenant farmers have shown the highest sense of justice, by adopting the fairest and most impartial standard of justice known to them; but they are not so wedded to Griffith's valuation, as not to be quite prepared to relinquish it when a higher or a fairer one is provided for them."

Referring to the action of the landlords, as opposed to that of the tenants, his Lordship is equally successful, in the direction and strength of his argument :—

"But their moderation and respect for the rights of others, will be seen in a still clearer light, when contrasted with the course of action invariably taken by the landlords themselves. Who ever heard of landlords adopting Griffith's, or any other impartial valuation, as a standard of justice, when fixing the rents they have exacted from their tenantry for centuries? The principle they have been guided by, in determining the amount of their rental, was not the value of their lands as estimated by any independent tribunal, but as estimated by themselves, that is to say, the rents they exacted were all that their selfishness, their avarice, their extravagance and necessities demanded; and that,

at least as a rule, amounted to the last shilling the tenant was able to pay. They merely left him the means to eke out a miserable existence, which was the next worst thing to having no existence at all."

The Right Rev. writer then proceeds to give the following quotation from the book of Mr. Bence Jones, which adds force to the Bishop's previous line of argument:—

"The now notorious Mr. Bence Jones, in his book published some time ago, forcibly and truthfully writes of his class, as well as of himself, when he says, 'Whenever there were no leases the rents were considerably raised. I was under no engagement, express or implied, with these tenants, and therefore felt at liberty to make my own terms with them. I accordingly let them the land at the highest rent, in my opinion, it was worth. This was often a very considerable advance on the former rent, but was still less than, in my judgment, the land was intrinsically worth, and than I believed I could make of it by farming it myself. It could not have been carried through, unless the men had known I should take up the land myself, if my offer was not accepted; but nevertheless there was terrible grumbling in every case, and vehement predictions of certain ruin under such a rent.'

Thus did Mr. Bence Jones act as judge and jury in his own case; in a case in which his own personal interests were deeply involved, and in which he had the power of life and death over his helpless tenantry. The alternative before them

was either to accept Mr. Bence Jones's valuation of his own lands, with the right of grumbling at its injustice, and continuing to live on; or of rejecting it, to be evicted, and then die in a ditch or in a poorhouse."

Referring to the foregoing quotation, the Bishop writes:—

"And yet the harsh and unjust conditions thus dictated by an arbitrary and irresponsible landlord, to fellow-creatures who were completely at his mercy, are profanely dignified by the sacred names of contracts.

A simple statement of the nature and meaning of contracts, is sufficient to show, that they can hardly be regarded, as not even plausible counterfeits. A contract is a sacred engagement, voluntarily and deliberately entered into by two parties, who are free and independent of each other; who are not awed or intimidated by coercion or force, and who are beyond the reach of any moral or physical cause, that could diminish or impede their freedom. Liberty to contract or not to contract, to accept or reject the terms of the contract, exclusively on their own merits, and totally uninfluenced by any other cause or consideration whatever, enter into the very essence and nature of a binding contract.

The arbitrary and oppressive terms extorted at pleasure by landlords, from men who are completely in their power, and who in fact have no liberty at all, prove the landlord himself to be an absolute despot, and the tenant to be nothing better than a helpless, degraded slave

The efforts therefore made, not only by writers in the English and landlord press, but quite recently by the judges in courts of law, as well as by statesmen in the House of Commons, to invest any engagement entered into by such parties with the sacred character of contracts, or to claim for them the binding force of the holiest covenants known amongst men, are not only dishonest, but positively profane. Hence, the passionate and indiscriminate denunciation of non-payment of rent as a violation of 'sacred contracts' is not only unreasonable but unjust."

I am clearly of his Lordship's opinion, as expressed in the following quotation from his letter, in which he says:—

"A wail of injured justice rang through the columns of landlord organs some time ago, at what they alleged to be the avowed determination of tenant farmers, 'to pay for their lands what they believed them to be worth, and no more.' But the tenant farmers never did, and never could, avow or act on such a principle, and certainly they were never encouraged by any public authority to do so. But, had they done so, they would only do to the landlords, the very same injustice the landlords had done to themselves for centuries.

But the object at which they really aim is not to reciprocate present injustice for past wrongs, but to wrest their clear, indisputable, and important rights in the present, as well as in the future, from landlords who will not voluntarily surrender them."

The writer, after recounting as below, the

success which has attended the agitation, remarks upon the want of sympathy hitherto displayed by the public--a want which I sincerely trust will be gradually but surely supplied :—

“The successes which they have already achieved are most startling and exceptional. The Land League movement has, within the short period of its active existence, extorted from landlords vast sums of money, which may be counted not merely by thousands, but by millions of pounds sterling.

The late Mr. Mill, the deepest thinker of his day, and the ablest economist that ever lived, demonstrated to evidence, a quarter of a century ago, the rottenness and injustice of the Irish laws of land tenure. He showed they stood condemned, by every principle of justice and of reason; that they robbed the people of a whole nation, not only of their property, but of every motive and incentive for industry, thrift, and exertion to better and improve their condition. But Mill's powerful and eloquent exposure of this gigantic wrong has ever since attracted but comparatively little attention.

Though its real character was thus clearly exposed in treatises on Political Economy, in the outer world it remained utterly unknown. It continued, nevertheless, a living, active, and powerfully energetic principle of evil, the secret but fruitful source of enormous suffering to honest, industrious men, whose properties it confiscated, whose liberties it curtailed, and whose whole lives it embittered. To counter-balance the odium and unpopularity it had created, and to commend itself to the veneration,

and religious feelings of the people, it appealed to the 'sacred rights of property,' to the 'sanctity and inviolability of contracts,' as if all these were impiously violated, by anyone who would dare to question it, or complain of the sufferings it caused him.

Availing itself of the arbitrary power under its control, it surrounded itself with an atmosphere of terrorism, which made it dangerous to question its character, or complain of its cruelties. A tenant, who, smarting under some galling injustice, would have the rashness to cry out that he was wronged, soon found, that his presumption was chastised by a rise in his rent, or perhaps by a process of ejectment which, of course, meant for him utter ruin. A patriot who would venture to direct public attention, to the harsh and arbitrary dealings of a landlord with his tenants, ran the risk of being thrown into goal, on an action for 'defamation of character.' His dreary imprisonment would not be cheered by the consciousness, that he had at least the sympathy of public opinion. Public opinion was not merely unsympathetic, but positively hostile to him."

Continuing in the same strain of powerful reasoning the writer shows the wonderful opportunity which presents itself to the present Government, and which we trust it will not neglect, of doing justice where it is so much needed :—

"But now the courage, the eloquence, and the tremendous efforts of the Land League orators, supported by the cordial co-operation of priests and laymen throughout the country, have at length dragged this monstrous injustice, out of the 'sacred'

darkness in which it has enshrined itself. They have compelled an impatient, a reluctant, and even a hostile public, to gaze steadily at it for months past, and they have let in on it a flood of light, that revealed in it excesses of wickedness and iniquity, that have astonished the world, and have forced the landlords themselves to cry out, 'that a change of some sort was necessary.'

Felons and conspirators though they may be, Mr. Gladstone owes them, not the vexatious injustice of a State prosecution under obsolete laws, which, after all, they had not violated, but a deep debt of thankfulness, for the splendid sacrifices, by which, they have succeeded in carrying the Land Question, into the region of 'practical politics.' They have created a golden opportunity, in which he and his Government, (if they are not entirely demented) may cover themselves with imperishable glory, by passing a Land Bill, that will content and pacify for ever, a nation whose past history alternated between successive periods of starvation, and chronic rebellion. The Land League has further cleared the ground, and swept away, every obstacle that can possibly impede any Land Bill, that the Gladstone Government think it right to pass into law.

Any argument or rational objection that could be offered to such a measure, has long since been thoroughly disposed of, and public opinion has been enlightened, and educated up to a point, at which the *Times* newspaper itself, as well as the Bessborough Committee, were forced to confess, that there was practical unanimity on the three F's at any rate,

But if it be alleged that the fate of a great measure like this is decided very often in Parliament, not by the weight of argument, but of numbers, it may be answered, that the argument from the weight of numbers, is of no consequence either. The landlords may grumble and complain, but they will hardly offer any serious opposition. No law that Parliament can pass, will deprive them of a single privilege, of which the unwritten law of public opinion has not morally despoiled them of already."



CHAPTER VIII.

Now breathless wrong
 Shall sit and pant in your great chairs of ease.
 And pursy insolence shall break his wind
 With fear and horrid flight.

Timon of Athens, Act 5, Scene 5.

Pursuing the same course of thought as in the preceding chapter the Doctor proclaims the impotence of the landlord interest, as opposed to the will of the tenantry, and urges this significant fact, upon the minds of Mr. John Bright and his colleagues:—

“The landlords themselves, now feel that a strong public opinion, has recently sprung up in Ireland. The opinions, convictions, and public spirit of the tenant farmers and of the country generally have, within a very short period, undergone a radical and comprehensive change. They have been elevated and improved to a degree, that could hardly have been expected.

The tenant farmers have discovered, that they possess within themselves a tremendous power, of which they had hitherto been quite unconscious, but which they now thoroughly understand, and which in a just cause, can never fail to be successful. They conformed literally, to the instructions issued by Mr. Bright in his Rochdale speech, for the guidance of popular movements.—‘They met together in their thousands; they looked each other in the face.

“The Land League orators, who comprehended their grievances, discussed them fairly before them.

and they thought them out thoroughly themselves afterwards.' They have already formulated their convictions, and proclaimed them to be—the establishment of a universal peasant proprietary, with as little delay as possible, and, in the interim, fixity of tenure, fair rents, and free sale. Let Mr. Bright, then, and their other rulers—‘take their voice as significant of the will of the country, and give the country that which it has demanded.’ ”

The unity of the tenantry, next occupies the attention of the writer, and he fully demonstrates the necessity of unity, and the fact, that it has been successfully accomplished by the efforts of the Land League, and it is obvious, that, as “unity is strength,” so must this agitation prove in the end successful.

“ Another most important result followed from these public meetings. The tenant farmers, by meeting each other oftener, by knowing each other more intimately, by fearing each other less, and trusting each other more, and by acting together for their common good, gradually arrived at a strong and clear conviction, of the irresistible power of their combined action, for the advancement of their interests, as a class or as individuals. They now feel, that their isolated efforts, were sheer weakness, to be laughed at, but that their united action is a power that cannot be trifled with.

They now employ that power, to secure the sanction and approval of public opinion, for two simple but most important principles; first, that no man be called on, to pay a higher rent for his land, than that fixed by Griffith's valuation, or by some other fair and

impartial valuation, taken as a standard of justice; second, that no man takes a farm from which a tenant has been evicted, for the non-payment of a rent, which, according to the above-mentioned standard, should be regarded as unjust or exorbitant.

The organisation they have set on foot, for the attainment of these objects, is not a combination for the express, or implied design of positive aggression, but purely for the purpose of self defence. They do not want to interfere with the rights of others; they wish merely to defend their own.

It is no injustice to refuse to pay for land, a rent above its fair value; and a landlord who has evicted a tenant, who is willing and able to pay a fair rent for his farm, can hardly complain, if others refuse to co-operate and encourage him, to repeat the injustice.

The real question, then, is—can we discover in this tenant combination, the elements of cohesion, durability, and strength that will enable it to stand the strain soon to be put on it, in the tremendous struggle that certainly lies before it? Will the tenant-farmers keep loyally together, and thus be able to wield the power of combined action, which will make them masters of the situation, antecedently to the action of the Legislature, which they have every right to expect will aid them? It appears to me, that the intrinsic character; and constitution of this organization, viewed in the present enlightened state of public opinion, furnishes unanswerable proofs, that it cannot end in failure."

I feel that no words of mine, can suggest more serious thoughts, or help to make understood, the

noble sentiments, contained in the following extract from this wonderful letter. It clearly shows, that the Catholic Clergy are grossly maligned, when they are charged with fostering the seeds of rebellion and discontent, and also, that the injustice of the laws, turns honest men into misanthropic, and determined political criminals.

“ A tendency to associate and to organise, particularly on the question of land, is one of the peculiarities, and, I might add, one of the weaknesses of our national character. This tendency is not a strong, clear conviction, created by the exercise of reason, but rather a passion, or an instinct, which is very often indeed enlightened and guided by reason, but which sometimes, too, puts forth its greatest strength, when not under the control of reason at all. It is essentially restless and active, and must give vent to its irrepressible energies, through some outlet or another. It will readily expend its superabundant activity in public, open, and legal organizations, set on foot for the attainment of necessary and salutary reforms; but, failing these, it will infallibly throw off its surplus energies, in the first secret combination it may happen to fall in with.

Ribbonism or Fenianism, are by no means the worst of the secret confederacies, which it is prepared heartily to join. It is only when it has shaken off the control of reason and religion, and thrown itself enthusiastically into the arms of one of these organisations, that we can fully realise, the absolute and despotic sway in which it holds its victims, as it were spell-bound.

During a long missionary career, especially whilst acting chaplain to two jails for seventeen years, it became my duty, many and many a time, to remonstrate with men who were literally enslaved to this principle of evil. I warned them that the secret confederation in which they had enrolled themselves, stood condemned by reason and by religion; that the objects it had proposed to itself were impracticable, or, if not, they were worthless, and very often wicked; that by becoming members of this confederacy they ceased to be living members of God's Church; that the miscreants who had 'sworn them in,' were perjured traitors who were only waiting for the opportunity, in which they could sell their liberties and themselves at the highest price; that in entering this combination, they placed their necks in the halter; and that they would probably leave it, for the convict ship or the gallows-tree; that, therefore, the very instinct of self-preservation, imperatively demanded of them at once to quit their connection with it.

These warnings were at all times acknowledged to be salutary, charitable, and well-intentioned; but invariably they made no practical impression whatever. The men to whom they had been addressed, (quite unconsciously to themselves) had lost the full use of their reason, and the free exercise of their liberty. In the best faith, they mistook that blind irrational instinct, for a patriotic feeling of the highest and noblest character, and the strong and generous impulses of their misguided patriotism, could not fail to excite one's admiration, as well as one's pity. They frankly

admitted the appalling gravity of the risks they ran, the painful sacrifices of character, of personal comforts and liberty, they might be called on to make ; but then, when their country demanded these sacrifices, it would be treachery as well as cowardice to shrink from making them ; it would be treason, then, to break with the confederations they had joined.

Having lost all hope of being ever able, by lawful means, to redress their country's wrongs, they felt persuaded that, through these secret confederacies, they would at least be able to avenge them terribly. Deeds of violence, of intimidation, of lawlessness, and even of blood, then became the ordinary and natural incidents, of the desperate war they resolved to make—to rid their country of all forms of oppression, particularly, of the *hatred tyranny of landlordism*.

Their career of crime was sometimes long, and sometimes short, but it always ended in convictions, that doomed scores of these men to the convict ship, or to terms of long imprisonment, and their fate failed to prove a deterrent, or a warning, to the unbroken stream of similarly misguided youths, who followed closely in their footsteps."

I am decidedly opposed to the policy of coercion, and fully share the Prelate's ideas subjoined :

" Should the Government, then, be guilty of the inexcusable folly of supressing the right of open organisations and of public meetings ; should they stifle freedom of speech and liberty to agitate for the redress of public grievances, then it would appear to me to be so much the worse for the

Government, and for the landlords too; the country would then become simply ungovernable, and the landlords, I am afraid, would be forced literally 'to run for their lives.' But should the Government not interfere, with the right of freedom of speech, and of public meetings, so wisely allowed by the constitution, then we would have in that peculiarity of our national character, in its ever active and irrepressible energy, a strong guarantee, for a long and prosperous career, for the present land movement. That guarantee would be supplemented by another element of strength in the strong feeling of self-interest by which it would be supported."

Remedial measures on the contrary are, in my opinion, a matter not only of necessity, but of policy; and still quoting from the same clever writer, I can only reiterate my complete concurrence in his views.

"A just and comprehensive Land Bill, would relieve the tenant farmers of Ireland, from the payment of several millions of pounds sterling annually. That immense sum, would be divided amongst them individually, in shares, proportioned to the amount of rack-rent they had been suffering from. It would further benefit immensely, though indirectly, all classes in the community, from the increase of money, that would be brought into circulation amongst them.

Here, then, we have another powerful recommendation to the tenant farmers of Ireland in favour of a movement which has done so much for them already in the same direction.

Again, no one longs so passionately, for the re-

covery of his freedom, as the man who has long endured the humiliation and degradation of slavery. Now, the tenant farmers of Ireland, were no better than slaves at any time. Their peace of mind, their material comforts, the privilege of living in the home in which they were born, their right to earn their bread, on the farms which their forefathers had enriched by their toil,—all depended on the arbitrary will of an irresponsible landlord. Give such a man then, only a chance of regaining his independence; of acquiring the right of looking his landlord straight in the face, and feeling that he was free, and he will cheerfully run any risks, to possess himself of the priceless gift of freedom.”

The main object of the Land League is next introduced, and I am sure that the consummation of that object, must be wished for by all lovers of liberty.

“The emancipation of the tenant farmers from their present servitude, is exactly the main object of the Land League movement. I therefore infer, that the Land League agitation, is not a sudden, short-lived, and passing outburst of popular feeling, but rather a strong, solid, and irresistible social movement, founded on justice and truth, and sustained by powerful, active, and energetic principles of human action, which guarantee to it an existence, that will survive all our land grievances, and which will terminate, only by the extirpation of the last of them.”

It appears to me that in these considerations will be found the secret of the almost universal popularity, which the land movement has gained

and the extraordinary successes it has already achieved. It may, I think, be fairly stated, that its principles have received the hearty and emphatic approval, of virtually the whole nation, and, consequently, that they are now an integral part, of what has been called, the 'unwritten law' of the country.

The authority quoted below is worthy of the reader's consideration :—

“Another proof of that fact, is found in the Report of the Bessborough Land Commission, just published. The social position, the well known character, and political leanings of the Bessborough Commissioners, coupled with circumstances surrounding their appointment, were not at all calculated, to raise them above a well-grounded suspicion, of partiality and one sidedness; and therefore, the tenant farmers look forward, with no small uneasiness and alarm, to the result of what was admitted would be an able and an exhaustive enquiry.

No one certainly expected they would award, a larger amount of approval to the tenant's claims, than they were in strict justice entitled to. The Commissioners appealed for information directly to the whole nation; and the distinct answer, given by the nation to that inquiry, as authoritatively stated in their report, is tantamount, to an emphatic sanction, of the principles and aims of the Land League.

In recommending fixity of tenure, fair rents, and free sale, accompanied by a warm encouragement, for the establishment of a peasant proprietary, as

far as they deemed it practicable, they substantially exhaust the Land League programme, whilst a universal peasant proprietary, is looked forward to by such distinguished and moderate statesmen, as the O'Connor Don and Lord Dufferin, as the only final settlement of the question. Thus, then, do we learn on the highest and the most unprejudiced authority, that the Land League programme has, by the sanction and approval of the national will, now become an important part, of the 'unwritten law' of the country."

On the broad question of the unwritten law, I must give the Bishop's remarks in *extenso* :—

"Civilised nations have in every age governed themselves by 'unwritten' as well as by 'written' laws, and no man ever doubted, that the moral force imparted to the unwritten law by the national will, was the next best thing to the binding force imparted to the written law, by the positive sanction of the Legislature. The 'unwritten' supplied the defects, and supplemented the deficiencies of the 'written' law, and its various provisions, according as they became more highly developed, and more distinctly defined, kept gradually passing into the written or statute law, especially under the British Constitution.

The intrinsic justice of an 'unwritten' law, (like the tenants' claims now), its wisdom, and its effective capability for the advancement of the public good, formed the exclusive grounds, on which it rested its claims, to the respect and obedience of the community. The coercive authority by which it was enforced, and made effective did not display

itself in deeds of 'lawful' force like the written law, and much less in deeds of 'unlawful' force and violence, but in the emphatic condemnation and censure, by which public opinion visited anyone who had the rashness to run counter, to the expressed wishes and desires of the whole community. Nothing could weaken its binding force, or bring it into odium and contempt so effectually, as an attempt to support, or bolster it up by violence, intimidation, or outrage.

The assertion, therefore, of the tenants' claims, cannot lean on crimes of lawlessness; but, it must regard the perpetrators of these wicked deeds, as its deadliest enemies. Even public denunciations of individuals, 'marking out' obnoxious persons, as special objects of popular dislike and hatred, are not only not necessary, but positively most injurious, to its efficiency and success.

Public opinion does not require to be enlightened, directed, or instructed by individuals, or by public bodies, to enable it to detect and censure offenders. Public opinion is of itself far more enlightened and intelligent, and immeasurably more just and discriminating than its would-be instructors. It is, moreover, ubiquitous, and everywhere active and vigilant, and always on the alert, besides being so searchingly inquisitive, that nothing can escape it. If it cannot, therefore, fail to discover and censure real offenders, so it can never punish anyone unjustly, for a whole community can never conspire or chastise with the censure of public opinion anyone who does not really deserve it.

I know of no state of existence more wretched

Or more unenviable than that of a man, who has merited and received the condemnation, of an enlightened public opinion. Undoubtedly he is free from all fear of violence against his person, his property, or his family. But then he knows that every man he meets dislikes him, and fears him, and regards him as guilty, of grievous wrong to the public, and to himself personally. Not a hard word is ever heard publicly spoken of him, and everyone's demeanour to him is frigidly polite and civil; but then, as no one is bound to maintain friendly or familiar relations with him, he will soon find that everybody will quickly 'cut him.' He will then soon be reduced to a state of social isolation more intolerable than the convict's cell in his county jail. Many a convict, during his dreary imprisonment, will have a lighter and happier mind.

You may call the power that created this state of existence, intimidation, if you will; but then, it is not the intimidation of one section of the community by another; it is the nation intimidating itself, and compelling all its members to observe the laws enacted for its good government. It is not the begotten of violence, or of force, and it cannot be even alleged, that the inflammatory harangues of agitators or demagogues, has created or encouraged it.

It is purely the result of public opinion itself, in its highest state of enlightenment, I therefore conclude that the Land League agitation has raised the tenant farmers' claims to the dignity of an 'unwritten law,' which is sustained by a moral power, which, if not weakened by outrage or vio-

lence, is simply irresistible, and cannot fail to impart to it a binding force, which is the next best thing to the sanction of the Legislature.

This unwritten law is now clamouring for leave to pass into the written or statute law of the country, and the Legislature cannot much longer refuse its sanction to its admission."

I give in full, the following excellent peroration or ending to Dr. Nulty's splendid letter. While approving the acts of the Land League, he disapproves, as a head of a religious body, of some of the utterances of its members, but, I venture to assert that the suppositions of the Bishop, that "they were thoughtless and unpremeditated," is correct. I certainly do not believe that on every occasion the leaders of the Land League have been discreet in their utterances, but at the same time their WILD words have not been followed by the results dreaded, a fact which in itself proves that the movement is not at the mercy or under the control of mere oratory, but that the results obtained point to a deep, settled, and legitimate mode of action :—

"And now, in concluding this long letter, I may be allowed to observe, that I cheerfully admit that the labours, the sacrifices, and the splendid results achieved by the highly cultivated eloquence of the Land League orators, entitle them to the deep and lasting gratitude of their countrymen.

It is entirely owing to their exertions, that the tenants' grievances, which had slept in quiet and contemptuous oblivion, now occupy the undivided attention, of every statesman in the empire; are

now proclaimed from every lip and by every tongue, and have so monopolised public attention that any man who thinks at all cannot speak or write on any other subject. Theirs are the gallant hands, and brave hearts, that have patiently, laboriously, and heroically, pushed the tenants' claims up the steep ascent, of chronic and deep-rooted prejudice and ignorance, till they have reached a point, at which Parliament itself will no longer trifle with them.

I, am certainly not the man, to endorse the base and infamous slanders, that have been circulated against their fair fame, by writers in the English or landlord press, by advocates in courts of law, or by passionate, prejudiced, or ignorant speakers in either houses of the Legislature. The Land League agitation and oratory have not fostered or encouraged the commission of crime ; they have, on the contrary, denounced it, condemned it, diminished it, and would eventually have extirpated it.

Whilst, I, therefore, heartily approve of all, or nearly all their acts, I heartily disapprove of some of their sayings. Some of their utterances (they were thoughtless and unpremeditated, no doubt) were wild, rash, and extravagant, and insinuated leanings to principles, which no just man could defend. I do not pretend to be well versed, in the literature of the Land League oratory, for I was in Rome during the most excited and active period of the agitation. But I believe it to be an ascertained fact, that some of these thoughtless pronouncements, have created a widespread feeling of uneasiness and alarm, that their authors secretly

cherished unfriendly feelings against the religion of the people of this country.

I honestly believe that the men who spoke these words would regard the feelings they created with abhorrence and aversion ; but I believe, too, that they ought to have kept themselves, above even the suspicion of harbouring such feelings. Gentlemen of the Land League, ought not to be surprised if they find us, Catholics, excessively sensitive to anything that has even an appearance of danger to our religion.

The voice of the highest authority on earth has been already heard on this subject. He never speaks without necessity, and always speaks in words of warning wisdom. He has not condemned the legal and constitutional agitation, of the Land League. He has, to my certain knowledge, said the very contrary ; but he confesses to have felt considerable uneasiness, at some of the excesses which have accompanied it. If I am not mistaken, Mr. Parnell felt somewhat in the same way.

Taine's 'History of the Origin of French Contemporaneous Society' is about the most instructive book I ever happened to fall in with. This writer makes it quite clear, that a land agitation (in its origin, its causes and objects, the exact counterpart of our own) was the first act of that terrible popular movement, which culminated in the frightful French Revolution of 1782, and in which the people gained their civil rights, but completely lost their religion. France is irreligious from that day to the present moment.

I will not pursue this subject further. I do not

presume to lecture the gentlemen of the Land League, but I think I have a right to offer them a friendly warning, to be on their guard in the future against rash and dangerous utterances, which have created uneasiness and alarm in the minds of men who love their country well, but love their religion more."

Judging from the following distressing scene, which occurred at the Kanturk Union, in Ireland, on Saturday, January 22nd, 1881, it is not coercion that the Irish people want, but work, or the establishment of laws that will conduce to the finding of work for the people, not laws that tend to neutralise the eternal decrees of God. The report is as under:—

THE PEOPLE FRANTICALLY IMPLORING WORK.

Long before the hour for the sitting of the board, the reception hall, or what is known as the "front house," was filled to excess with men, women, and children, principally men, all seeking relief. It was a piteous spectacle, to observe upwards of eighty stalwart labourers, with famished countenances waiting in the hall to see if any employment could be afforded them, in order to relieve their starving families. The day being extremely cold, there was but a very small attendance. The clerk informed the meeting, that he had read over the act with reference to out door relief, and he found, that the guardians were not empowered to give out door relief to able-bodied men, but they could admit them into the house, and relieve their families outside. Quirk, one of the paupers, said.

“ Well, I’m satisfied to go into the house, and you can support my family outside. Do you think I’m going to lie down and starve while you all have your stomachs full? I never had relief from any charitable institution yet. I am not anxious to come in here. I have a sickly wife and a starving family outside. I am mad with hunger myself, and by—I’ll commit myself if I don’t get some relief, and I’ll hold the guardians responsible for what I do.” Quirk then left the room. Some time after, the woman acting as porter rushed into the room, and said that the labourers in the hall were coming up the stairs, with a view to forcing their way into the boardroom. The business going on was suspended, and a dead silence prevailed for a while. Immediately afterwards footsteps were heard ascending the stairs, and the door was well-nigh taken from its hinges with the kicking and pushing it received from outside. Several voices were heard outside, calling the guardians to open the door and give them relief. The door was opened, and Mr. M’Cunliffe was about to leave the room, when he was thrown back again and informed that he, nor any other guardian in the room should leave, until they did something for them. The passage and stairs were thronged with sullen and famished-looking men, and indeed, it would be a venture to try and force one’s way through them. A guardian suggested that they could get some tea in the house. To which one answered,—“ What good is tea to us when our children are starving? As sure as God made little apples I am ready to die for my children, and I’ll do something desperate

I don't get relief for them." A scene of confusion here ensued, which lasted for several minutes, In the background there were some poor fellows who did not let loose their tongues, but were weeping. After some time they were got to understand, that there was a repast of bread and tea laid for them in the hall, after partaking of which they were at liberty to go home to their families, who would receive outdoor relief for a week. The besieged guardians were on this understanding allowed to go uninterrupted, and the relief seekers made the best of their way to the dining hall, where they did full justice to the meal placed before them.



CHAPTER IX.

Rightly to be great,
Is, not to stir without great argument;
But greatly to find quarrel in a straw,
When honour's at the stake.

Hamlet, Act 4, Scene 4.

Having placed before my readers, in as clear a form as possible, the practical evidences of the necessity for a better Land Legislation in Ireland, together with the arguments of patriots, of politicians, of the clergy, and of all classes of the educated and thinking communities, in support of such action. I shall endeavour, before finishing this small volume, to bring before the reader's notice the line of policy that has been pursued by the Government in this matter up to the present moment; and in discussing the pro's and con's of such policy, I wish it to be distinctly understood by the reader that my object is not one of political or religious feeling, or presumptuous self-opinionatedness, but a desire to deduce from figures and from facts, the proper basis of action, which might reasonably be supposed, as likely to be attended by the speediest and most beneficial results.

Any writer on this theme, must be aware of the difficulties that attend useful legislation with regard to Ireland, or the hitherto apathetic spirit which has prevailed amongst the English people, of the national timidity shown by all classes to the hasty consideration of the subject, a timidity that they have excused in a great measure by reading and believing in the excessive outrages, which have

been so much written of and exaggerated by the English Press, and which have apparently, although so clearly exaggerated, terrified to a certain extent a ministry, which, on entering office, seemed fully disposed to treat the matter in a broad and liberal spirit, determined to bring in a measure, which should be just to both landlord and tenant ; and I firmly believe, by the utterance of the leaders of the Land League, when studied calmly and generously, that is, by sifting the unwise portion of their speeches, delivered in the heat of debate, UNDER RESTRICTIVE RULES, from the pure matter of fact and argument, which they have advanced, that they are and have been, simply striving to awaken the sympathies of the English and Irish masses, by the promulgation of a principle, having for its object, nothing subversive of precedent, but a system which has been adopted, as proved in our preceding pages, by America, and by Continental countries, which have not, and do not pretend to enjoy the freedom that we in England and Ireland are supposed to possess.

A great deal of angry feeling has been aroused in England by the policy of OBSTRUCTION ; but let us calmly consider what this policy has effected, and how it has been met. I would always have you keep before you the fact that the Obstructionists—or, in another and fairer sense, let us say the PROGRESSISTS of the Land League party, numbering only about thirty—that they have to contend (with the exception of a half-dozen English Radicals, and an uncertain and occasional support from some few of the Irish Liberal members) with

the united phalanx of the Liberals and Conservatives in the House of Commons; and that by a policy of passive submission they would be perfectly unable to explain their views to the general public, or to obtain a hearing on any of those weighty subjects which vitally affect the welfare of their constituents. Let us suppose that any one of us be the possessor of a mansion, filled with works of art, with costly furniture, and, in fact, with everything tending to make home a paradise. Let us suppose that the male portion of the family consists of the father and six stalwart sons, and that the house is attacked by a band of armed men, with the intention of their effecting a forcible entrance, living upon our possessions, and framing a code of rules, by which we should be obliged by our labour to support them in luxury—would it be consistent with the natural instincts of brave men that we should quietly SUBMIT? NO! we should barricade the doors, provide ourselves with the means of defence, and if we knew that we were POWERLESS, and had to submit to SUPERIOR FORCE, should at least endeavour, by persistent efforts, to arouse the sympathies of our distant relatives, and our apathetic neighbours, and so by their assistance obtain the necessary legal protection; and, that failing, we should then have to leave the home of our ancestors, with the prospect of a band of profligates living upon the results of our own exertions. This is, I contend, exactly the case with Ireland—her sons are, by the existing laws, afraid to labour as they otherwise would, could they be sure of reaping the results attending their

labours. In order to obtain a crust of bread they are forced to work for landlords, who, to a large extent are absentees, and who appoint as agents men not capable of understanding the temperament of the people, or the requirements of the land; whose only object is to drain every possible farthing from the pockets of the tenantry, and to extract the last drop of sweat from the brow of the struggling labourer! What wonder that these poor wretches have refused to work more than they are actually compelled to do, under such unjust treatment.

And knowing all this, understanding the Irish people, being of the same blood and kindred, would it be consistent with the character of brave Irishmen, representing the oppressed districts, as do the progressive few of the Land Leaguers, would it be doing their duty to their suffering constituents, if they did not avail themselves of every technicality of the rules of the House, in order that they might discuss, delay, and, if possible, frustrate any measure which they might judge, (and they certainly have a right to a judgment) would inflict fresh miseries upon their compatriots, and consign to the hands of irresponsible officials, a power which only a state of siege could warrant? It is, without doubt, exceedingly aggravating, that measures more nearly affecting our own immediate interests should be delayed by the persistency thus exhibited; but, I hope I have shown, that the cause for which the Land League is contending, is fraught with consequences to a portion of this kingdom, which should lead us to cast aside all measures that can possibly lay over for a period,

in order that this vexed question may be definitely settled ; and that the outraged feelings of a generous and chivalric kindred should, by their wrongs being redressed, once more, as in times gone by, work hand in hand with the leaders of the people in this country, and by their known eloquence and ability, help the people of England in the work of joint legislation for the benefit of the united countries of Great Britain and Ireland.

No one in the world has admired the strict impartiality and courteous bearing on many trying occasions of the Rt. Hon. the Speaker of the House of Commons than myself, and in this, I am sure I can rely, on having the sympathy of the Obstructionists. Mr. Brand is charged with duties, which require the possession of a nicely regulated and well-balanced mind, and his treatment on every occasion, when he has given his decisions, have been endorsed by the members unanimously ; and I think that I shall not be wrong in saying, that notwithstanding the seeming resistance to his authority, that the Irish members, when unfortunately they have thought fit to speak to order or to submit only to superior force, have, at the same time, appreciated the difficulty in which the head of the assembly was placed, and have not blamed him for the restriction of liberties which it was his painful duty to see enforced.

The present Government is not the first that has been perplexed by these persistent champions of the Irish people ; but it is certainly the first Government that has had the courage to face the difficulty with anything like determination. They

have, by a tremendous majority of the House, composed principally of Conservatives and the thick and thin supporters of the Government, passed new rules of debate, which have, to a very great extent, deprived the little army of its ammunition. Whether these restrictions are not likely to prove a thorn in the side of the promoters, is a very moot question. Without feeling justified in condemning altogether the action of the Government, because, through a desire to be fair, I should not like to so condemn them, without being better acquainted with the grounds of their motives in this proceeding, I still think they have trodden on very dangerous ground, and that, although they are restrictive rules, they are such by which they themselves may be restricted. It appears to me from this fact, there will arise in the future an element of obstruction, which a more natural, and more powerful foe, than the one for whom this policy was created, will be able to illustrate the saying, "Hoist with his own petard." The fact, however, remains, that for a time the camp of the Land Leaguers has been thrown into confusion; that the inevitable has come, and the Coercion Bill has passed. Let us now turn our attention to Coercion, and look at the causes and probable effects of this extreme legislation.

The excuse for the introduction of the Coercion Bill, is principally the alleged EXISTENCE and perpetration of outrages upon man and beast, and the successful application of the system now called BOYCOTTING, which is simply the old form of school-boy punishment, known as "SENDING TO COVENTRY."

In a former chapter of this book, I have referred to (and supported my references by extracts), the bitter and exaggerated tone of the English press, on the subject of the alleged outrages in the proclaimed and disaffected portions of Ireland. I, myself, must own to having participated in the feeling of indignation at one period, but diligent study of the accounts of these outrages from all available sources of information, have convinced me that gross misrepresentation had been promulgated, and that the landlord interest, by its undoubted influence with the press, was engaged in the manufacturing of great crimes from ordinary felonies and little peccadilloes. Passing from this subject, to some of the actual figures, on which Mr. Forster grounds his claim to adopt such strong Coercive measures, let us calmly analyse and discuss them on their merits, and for the convenience of my readers, I here annex a tabular Analysis of Agrarian Outrages from January 1st to October 30th, 1880, in the provinces of Munster and Ulster respectively :- -

TABULAR ANALYSIS OF AGRARIAN OUTRAGES FROM
JANUARY 1ST TO OCTOBER 30TH, 1880..

PROVINCE OF MUNSTER.

		COUNTY.													
OUTRAGE,		Clare.	Cork, E, R	Cork, W. R.	Kerry.	Limerick.	Tipperary.	Tipperary, S. R	Waterford.	Total.	Doubles of same outrage.	Non-Agrarian.	Trivial.		
Murder	} Homicide	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
Manslaughter		...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Firing at the person	...	2	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	1	...	...
Administering Poison	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Aggravated Assault	...	1	1	3	3	...	...	1	...	9	3	1	2
Assault endangering life	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	2	...	...	...
Assaults on bailiffs and process servers...	...	1	...	...	3	1	1	2	1	3	2	...	1
Cutting or maiming the person	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
Incendiary fires and arson	...	3	19	9	18	10	2	3	1	65	11	5	11		
Burglary and robbery	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Taking and holding forcible possession	...	1	3	3	3	1	...	2	1	20	7	...	4		
Killing, cutting, or maiming cattle	...	1	4	...	2	2	...	1	1	14	2	5	3		
Levyng contributions	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Demand of money	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Demand or robbery of arms	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	2	2	1	...
Appearing armed	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Riots and affrays	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	1	3	2	...	...
Administering unlawful oaths	...	...	...	...	3	1	...	1	...	5	3	...	...
Intimidation	} By threatening letters and others... } Otherwise	36	16	10	54	20	2	5	4	153	39	...	...
		...	2	2	1	1	3	1	2	...	12	9	1	...	
Attacking horses	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	2	2	...	...
Resistance to legal process	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	1	1	4	1	...	...
Injury to property...	...	4	1	3	7	7	4	...	1	27	9	...	10		
Firing into dwellings	...	7	...	...	1	...	...	2	...	15	...	...	...
Assaults on police...	...	1	...	1	2	...	...	...	...	...	1	2	...
		58	45	36	111	51	14	23	11	349	94	10	30		
Total offences charged ...		...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	319		
Deduct threatening letters ...		...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	156		
Doubles (less threatening letters)		...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	55		
Non-Agrarian...		...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10		
Trivial Injuries		...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	20		

SUMMARY FOR PROVINCE OF MUNSTER, CONTAINING
1,361,000 INHABITANTS.

	Agrarian Offences.	Trivial.
Murder	1	...
Firing at the person	3	...
Aggravated assaults	5	2
Assaults on bailiffs... ..	6	1
Maiming the person	1	...
Incendiary fires	40	11
Taking forcible possession	13	4
Killing or maiming cattle	11	2
Riot	1	..
Administering unlawful oaths	2	...
Intimidation otherwise than by letters	2	...
Resistance to legal process	3	...
Injury to property	18	10
Firing into dwellings	13	...
Assault on police	1	...
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total	131	30
Deduct Trivial Cases	30	
	<hr/>	
Serious offences	101	

TABULAR ANALYSIS OF AGRARIAN OUTRAGES FROM
JANUARY 1ST TO OCTOBER 30TH, 1880.

PROVINCE OF ULSTER.

COUNTY.																
OUTRAGE.				Armagh.	Cavan.	Antrim.	Donegal.	Down.	Fermanagh.	Londonderry.	Monaghan.	Tyrone.	Total.	Doubles of same Outrage.	Non-Agrarian.	Trivial.
Murder	} Homicide	...	{	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...
Manslaughter		...	{	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
Firing at the Person	...	...		...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Aggravated Assault	...	...		...	8	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	8	4	1	...
Assault Endangering Life	...	...		...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Assaults on Bailiffs and Process-	...	...		...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
servers	...	...		1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...
Cutting or Maiming the Person	...	...		...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	1	1	...
Incendiary Fires and Arson...	...	...		3	4	...	2	1	...	1	1	...	12	1	...	4
Burglary and Robbery	...	...		...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	3	1	...	...
Taking and Holding Forcible Pos-	...	...		...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
session	...	...		1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1
Killing, Cutting, and Maiming Cattle	...	...		..	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...
Levying Contributions	...	...		...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Demand of Money	...	...		...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Robbery of Arms	...	...		...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Appearing Armed	...	...		...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Riots and Affrays	...	...		...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...
Administering Unlawful Oaths	...	...		...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
Intimidation	{ By Threatening Let-	...	...	4	15	...	4	4	...	3	2	1	33	5	...	...
		ters and Notices...	...	2	6	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	9	1	1	1
Attacking Houses	{ Otherwise	...	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	1
		...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	1	...	...
Resistance to Legal Process...	...	...		2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	1	...	...
Injury to Property	...	...		1	...	...	...	...	1	2	...	2	6	...	1	4
Firing into Dwellings	...	...		...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...
Assaults on Police	...	...		...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
				15	38	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	87	15	4	11

Total Offences Charged 87

Deduct Threatening Letters 33

Doubles (less Threatening Letters) 10

Non-Agrarian 4

Trivial Injuries 11

Serious Offences 23

SUMMARY FOR PROVINCE OF ULSTER, CONTAINING
1,700,000 INHABITANTS.

					Agrarian Offence.	Trivial.
Manslaughter	...	...	...	...	1	...
Firing at the Person	...	...	...	...	1	...
Aggravated Assaults	...	...	...	...	3	...
Assaults on Bailiffs	...	...	...	...	2	...
Incendiary Fires and Arson	...	...	...	...	11	4
Burglary and Robbery	...	...	...	...	2	...
Taking and Holding Forcible Pos- session	...	...	...	...	1	1
Killing, Cutting, or Maiming Cattle...	...	...	...	...	2	...
Administering Unlawful Oaths...	...	...	...	...	1	...
Intimidation otherwise than by Threaten- Letters	...	...	...	...	7	1
Attacking Houses	...	...	...	...	2	1
Resistance to Legal Process	...	...	...	...	1	...
Injury to Property	...	...	...	...	5	4
Firing into Dwellings	...	...	...	...	1	...
					<hr/>	<hr/>
Total for Province	...	...	...	...	40	11
Deduct Trivial Cases	...	...	...	...	11	
					<hr/>	
Serious Offences	...	...	...	...	29	

CHAPTER X.

If you prick us, do we not bleed? If you tickle us, do we not laugh? If you poison us, do we not die? And if you wrong us, shall we not revenge?

Merchant of Venice, Act 3, Scene 1.

I would ask the reader to carefully consider the figures in the analysis concluding the last chapter, taken from Mr. Forster's Blue Book. The population of the province of Munster is 1,361,000, and includes the counties of Kerry and Tipperary, certainly the most disaffected portions of Ireland; and yet, the summary shows, with fair deductions, the astonishing fact that, during the period covered by the analysis, there was only one murder, three cases of firing at the person, three cases of aggravated assault, two assaults endangering life, and five serious assaults upon bailiffs. The remainder of the offences are those which certainly cannot be ascribed to Land League agitation, being mostly Whiteboy offences, which have been perpetrated more or less for a number of years. Now, I submit that unless Mr. Forster has more material to work upon which is not yet made public, that the necessity for Coercion is not made out, at any rate there can be no doubt that remedial measures might have been first tried, without any more serious results than those given in the analysis; and I believe that a thoroughly GOOD LAND BILL would have removed the necessity for further agitation amongst the agricultural population, and that although it might not have passed the House of Lords, it would at any rate, have satisfied the Irish

people that the present Government, were earnest and honest in their intentions, and were only prevented from relieving them through circumstances which, for the time, they could not successfully combat.

Personally, I have still faith in the future redemption of the promises made by such hitherto consistent statesmen as MR. GLADSTONE and MR. JOHN BRIGHT; but, to me the fact is perfectly apparent that, having been FRIGHTENED into the line of procedure adopted, they must for the moment justify the coercive measures introduced. Let us hope that their REMEDIAL MEASURE will render the coercive one a dead letter, by giving justice to the oppressed—thus removing the INCENTIVES TO AGRARIAN CRIMES AND DISORDER.

Referring again to the Munster statistics, it must be remembered, that they cover nine of the most exciting months of the period of agitation. County Clare has always been cited as a hotbed of crime. The population is 146,373, and yet there is not a SINGLE MURDER or MANSLAUGHTER, not one case of maiming the person or of ham-stringing cattle, nor yet a single robbery of arms, riot, or resistance to legal process. Of the fifty-nine offences, THIRTY-SIX ARE THREATENING LETTERS, and twelve of these are REPETITIONS OF THE SAME OFFENCE. These repetitions of the same offences against the same person are, as described and deducted in analysis (doubles). With these deductions made, there remain exactly eleven tangible outrages to be

accounted for in a DISTURBED COUNTY. Out of these ELEVEN CHARGES, SEVEN ARE CASES OF FIRING INTO DWELLINGS, and I must say, that the police patrols (if they did their duty) could very well cope with these night raids, which are rarely attended with any SERIOUS RESULTS.

Cork (East Riding) is the next county on the list. The population is 265,000. This is in yet a more favourable state than County Clare. There is not a SINGLE AGRARIAN MURDER, MANSLAUGHTER, ASSAULT ON BAILIFF, ATTEMPT TO MAIM ANYBODY, ROBBERY OF ARMS, FIRING INTO DWELLINGS, A RIOT, OR AN ASSAULT ON POLICE. This state of affairs is certainly not such as the English press would endeavour to make us believe. Sixteen of the offences in this county are THREATENING LETTERS. I have deducted these, as I cannot conceive that it is possible for anyone to regard these ANONYMOUS LETTERS as AGRARIAN OUTRAGES.

The next county is the West Riding of Cork, where one murder is recorded, and that was indeed a terrible affair, as the shot was evidently fired at a Mr. Hutchins, and killed a poor boy named Downey. The official account states that the murder was committed by an UNKNOWN MAN. If this be so, I do not see how it can be proved to be AGRARIAN. But, there is one remarkable fact in connection with this division of the County Cork, Judge Fitzgerald declared that every farmer and farmer's son, was armed with a revolver, and

yet there does not appear to be one offence alleged, as to the using, or carrying of fire arms of any description. The English people naturally read the reported remarks of the Irish Judges, but they do not all study the Blue Book. It is obvious, that the above remark of the learned judge, was a haphazard one, and could not possibly be founded upon any substantial basis. Probably it was based upon the representation of the Constabulary, who to excuse their seeming non-success in preventing these SO CALLED AGRARIAN OUTRAGES, represented that they were not numerous enough, as every man woman and child were armed. The worst cases, in West Cork, are the four for the maiming of cattle, an offence, which is certainly most detestable to every right minded person, but I submit that a community numbering some 200,000 people, should not be declared in a state of siege, because one or two barbarous wretches avenge a grievance by maiming or killing a beast.

In Limerick, one of the strongholds of the Land League, with a population of 190,000, the authorities have been enabled to bring ONE SOLITARY OFFENCE AGAINST THE PERSON, and in this case the criminal is reported to have fled the country. Here we have twenty-five threatening letters, which invariably threaten, and that is the last of them.

There are fourteen offences against property, six are cases of setting fire to unoccupied cabins and hayricks, a number not above the average of other years, seven of these outrages result from the proceedings of one gang of night walkers, upon a single

night, one offence is in Tipperary, the taking and holding by forcible possession. The reader will doubtless view this kind of outrage as very serious, but the facts of the case from the official report are as follows :—"Looby gave up the place QUIETLY, but when the constabulary departed, and finding the bailiffs outside, drew the staple of the door, and re-entered into possession of the house." This man was convicted, and sentenced to six-months' imprisonment.

Now, there is not the least doubt, that the average English reader of newspaper articles would not have the facts of this case properly put before him, but would have it described as a MOST ATROCIOUS AGRARIAN OUTRAGE, and yet this is one of the cases, which helps to swell the grand indictment, against the LIBERTIES of the IRISH PEOPLE.

The Land League has reigned supreme in Tipperary, but still the Blue Book shows that crime has not increased, but compared with former years has decreased.

In the North Riding of Tipperary, I find that the most serious offence is an assault upon a process server. THE OFFENDER seems to have STABBED the PROCESS to the GROUND, with a PITCHFORK, and afterwards pursued the PROCESS SERVER with a fork, the authorities succeeded in obtaining a conviction, and the offender was sentenced to one month's imprisonment.

Most of the other offences are ordinary cases, which may be found on the pages of any criminal calendar in the world, In County Waterford,

where Mr. Parnell was received with such enthusiasm, there are only eleven offences charged during nine months, and among a population of 121,719.

Commission of agrarian outrages in the Province of Ulster I must pass over, but taking into consideration the fact, that it is not looked upon as a disaffected province, at any rate to the same degree as Munster, I do not think there is much argument to be adduced from the figures, in support of the Coercion Policy.

●I shall now place before my readers the tabular statement relative to offences committed in the provinces of Leinster and Connaught.

TABULAR ANALYSIS OF AGRARIAN OUTRAGES FROM
JANUARY 1ST TO OCTOBER 30TH

PROVINCE OF LEINSTER.

OUTRAGE.	COUNTY.											
	Carlow.	Dublin.	Kildare.	Kilkenny.	King's.	Longford.	Louth.	Meath.	Queen's.	Westmeath.	Wexford.	Wicklow.
Murder	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Manslaughter	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Firing at the person	...	...	1	2	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...
Administering poison	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Aggravated Assault	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Assault endangering life	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Assaults on bailiffs and process-servers	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Cutting or maiming the person	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Incendiary fires and arson	1	...	4	1	2	3	...	2	2	4	3	...
Burglary and robbery	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Taking and holding forcible possession	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1
Killing, cutting, or maiming cattle	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...
Levying contributions	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Demand of money	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Demand or robbery of arms	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Appearing Armed	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Riots and affrays	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Administering unlawful oaths	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Intimidation	By threatening letters and notices											
	5	...	7	9	15	4	1	14	3	14	18	10
	Otherwise											
Attacking houses	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...
Resistance to legal process	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
Injury to property	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	2	...	...	1	...
Firing into dwellings	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...
	7	13	14	17	13	3	29	5	25	23	11	160

Total for Province ... 160

Deduct Threatening Letters ... 100

Doubles (less Threatening letters) ... 5

Non-Agrarian ... 8

Trivial Injuries ... 10

SUMMARY OF THE REAL AGRARIAN OUTRAGES
ACCORDING TO THE RETURNS FOR THE PROVINCE
OF LEINSTER, CONTAINING OVER ONE MILLION
THREE THOUSAND PERSONS:—

		Trivial.
Murder	... .. 1	...
Firing at the Person	... .. 1	...
Incendiary fires	... .. 17	3
Taking and holding forcible posses- sion	... .. 1	...
Maiming cattle	... .. 2	2
Administering unlawful oaths	... .. 1	...
Intimidation otherwise than by letters	... .. 13	...
Attacking houses...	... .. 2	...
Resistance to legal process...	... .. 1	...
Injury to property	... .. 6	5
Firing into dwellings	... .. 2	...
	—	—
Total...	... .. 47	10
Deduct Trivial Cases	... .. 10	...
	—	—
Cases which could be called Serious	... .. 37	...

COUNTY.

.OUTRAGE				Galway (East Riding).	Galway (West Riding).	Leitrim.	Mayo.	Roscommon.	Sligo.	Total for Province.	Doubles or same Offence.	Non-Agrarian.	Trivial.
Murder	}	...	...	1	1	...	1	...	...	2	...	...	...
Manslaughter				1	...	...	...	...	1	...	...
Firing at the Person	...	...	...	1	1	2	...	...	...	4	...	...	...
Aggravated Assault	...	...	...	10	1	7	3	3	24	10	1	2	...
Assault endangering Life	...	...	...	1	2	...	...	1	4	...	...	...	...
Assaults on Bailiffs and Process-Servers	...	...	...	1	1	...	4	2	...	8	...	...	...
Assaults on Police	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	1	...	...
Cutting or Maiming the Person	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Incendiary Fires	...	...	...	2	10	...	15	4	2	33	4	...	1
Burglary and Robbery	...	...	...	1	7	2	6	1	...	17	9	...	2
Taking and holding forcible Possession	...	...	...	...	...	1	2	...	...	3	...	...	...
Killing, Cutting, or Maiming Cattle	...	...	...	1	17	...	9	...	1	28	4	1	2
Attacking Houses	...	...	...	...	3	...	2	...	...	5	1	...	...
Demand and Robbery of Arms	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	...	...	...	...	...	...
Riots and Affrays	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...
Administering Unlawful Oaths	...	...	...	...	10	...	...	...	1	17	8	...	...
Intimidation	}	By Threatening Letters and Notices...	...	20	54	19	68	9	22	192	26	...	...
				Otherwise	...	3	13	11	9	1	4	41	15	...	3
Resistance to Legal Process	...	...	...	...	...	2	1	1	...	4	...	...	...
Injury to Property	...	...	...	6	21	2	14	5	5	52	8	...	13
Firing into Dwellings	...	...	...	...	2	...	3	...	...	5	1	...	...
Levying Contributions	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Demand of Money	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
										443	87	3	23
Total for Province				...	...	...	...	...	...	...	443		
Deduct threatening letters				...	...	...	...	...	...	...	192		
Doubles (less threatening letters)				...	...	...	...	...	...	...	61		
Non-agrarian				...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3		
Trivial injuries				...	...	...	...	...	...	...	23		
Serious offences				..	...	...	...	...	...	...	164		

SUMMARY OF AGRARIAN OFFENCES FROM FEB. 1ST
TO 1ST NOV. IN PROVINCE OF CONNAUGHT,
CONTAINING 846,000 INHABITANTS.

	Serious Offences.	Trivial.
Murder	2	...
Manslaughter	1	...
Firing at the person	4	...
Aggravated assaults	10	2
Assaults endangering life	4	...
Assaults on bailiffs and process- servers	8	...
Incendiary fires	29	2
Burglary and robbery	8	2
Attacking houses	4	...
Taking and holding forcible posses- sion	3	...
Riots and affrays	2	...
Killing, cutting, or maiming cattle	23	2
Administering unlawful oaths ...	9	...
Intimidation otherwise than by threatening letters... ..	26	3
Resistance to legal process	4	...
Injury to property	44	13
Firing into dwellings	4	...
<hr/>		<hr/>
Total	186	24
Deduct Trivial Cases... ..	24	
<hr/>		
Serious offences	165	

Of the 160 outrages in Leinster 100 consist of threatening letters, which reduces the number at once to 60 as shown in the tabular statement.

There is one case of homicide—the atrocious murder of Mr. Charles Boyd—an outrage that every man must condemn and abhor. But, at the same time, there is no justification for the compilers of the Blue Book, recording it as three outrages instead of one. It resulted in the death of Mr. Charles Boyd, and in the wounding of Mr. Thomas Boyd; but as Mr. J. Evans Boyd was upon the car at the time, the affair is thus set forth in the Return for the County Kilkenny:—

“ Outrage No. 3.—Murder of Mr. Charles Boyd.”

“ Outrage No. 4.—Firing at the person of Mr. Thomas Boyd.”

“ Outrage, No. 5.—Firing at the person of Mr. J. Evans Boyd.”

I shall leave the reader to form his own conclusions on this matter of manufacturing outrages.

There are in the return two other cases of “ firing at the person,” in addition to those noticed above. One of these cases occurred in Kildare, and appears in the list as No. 8. The name of the injured person was “ William Harding,” and the name of the person made amenable, “ Rosanna Harding.” William Harding, the younger son of Mr. Harding, senr., was, by his father’s will, left the farm, to the exclusion of his brother Thomas Harding, who had come from America, expecting to inherit. This caused a feud to exist between the two branches of the family, and hence the assault, by Rosanna Harding, wife of the elder son, Thomas. She threw stones at him, then a basin of water, and finally fired a shot at him from a pistol. He was not injured.”

The result at Naas Assizes, 20th July, 1880, was an acquittal on the charge of firing at the person, a disagreement on the indictment for assault, and she was eventually bound over to keep the peace for twelve months.

Is a family row to be returned as an agrarian outrage? The Harding case ought never to have been allowed to figure in these returns; it was not an outrage committed by the tenant class as against the landlord class, and, therefore, non-agrarian.

The other case of firing at the person, which occurred in the County Meath, was a serious one, and legitimately figures in the returns, Mr. Dyas being fired at when returning from Kells.

There is one case of aggravated assault, and I fail to see in what sense that can be described as agrarian. This case is No. 7 in the return, and the details are as follows:—The name of the injured person was Patrick Gaffney, and the name of the person amenable, William Hallella. Patrick Gaffney and William Hallella were drinking together in a public house in Sleevearea, on the 19th August, 1880. Hallella left some time before Gaffney to go home. When Gaffney was returning home Hallella jumped out from behind the ditch on the side of the road and attacked Gaffney with stones, inflicting some serious wounds on his head, &c. A bad feeling exists between them about a farm of land."

The result of the proceedings was that Hallella was tried at Kilkenny Quarter Sessions, 14th October, 1880, and sentenced to four months' im

prisonment with hard labour. Here, again, this was not an offence committed by class against class, but a simple matter of private feud.

There is not a single case in the Leinster Analysis of assaults on bailiffs or process servers, or of calling or warning the person.

There are twenty-two cases of incendiary fires and arson; but here again, the number though formidable, is more so in appearance than reality.

Take for instance Nos. 3 and 6 in the return.

No. 3 was plainly not agrarian. The details are as follows:—The name of the injured party was William Marley, and that of the person accused, Timothy Rabbit. “About 9 o’clock, p.m. Marley’s house was found to be on fire, which was extinguished before much injury resulted. About two years ago Timothy Rabbit married the widow of Marley’s son. She expected to inherit her father-in-law’s house, and plot of ground, but Marley sent for his daughter to America, and she returned, and was married about a week before this outrage.”

The Magistrates discharged Rabbit at once; and here again I would ask the reader if the introduction of these cases into the returns does not show that the accounts are vulgarly speaking, COOKED.

There is yet another case:—

“A thatched house belonging to Ann Haughran, was set on fire and burned to the ground in June, 1879. Matthew Haughran, and his sister Ann Haughran, were evicted from the premises, and the latter was readmitted as caretaker. They have since been disputing about the farm, and threatening notices have been posted relative to it.

Another family quarrel; No. 7 and 10 are set down as trivial, 7 was an unoccupied house which had been partially thrown down, and No. 10 was three cocks of hay.

No. 15 case is as follows:—An unoccupied house was burned owing to some dispute about bog or cutting turf. There is nothing in this case either to show that it was in the nature of an outrage, on the part of tenants against landlords. It would appear to be a dispute among themselves, and therefore not an agrarian outrage.

No. 3 was an unoccupied house.

No. 13 is reported as follows:—An outhouse barn, car, and seven tons of hay were burned, Kearney allowed a right of way through his field, to some of his tenants, but, not to others. On the face of the return there was nothing to show that the offence was due to the cause set down, but I give the authorities the benefit of the doubt,

In County Wexford, there were three incendiary fires reported, viz. Nos. 4, 10, 11. No. 4 is reported as follows:—“Two outhouses and a rick of straw, were maliciously set fire to, in order to deter any person from buying a large quantity of hay on the farm.” Rather a Quixotic assumption of motive I must submit.

No. 10 is reported as follows:—Three stacks of corn and a rick of hay, were set fire to and totally consumed. It is believed this outrage was committed by one of the injured persons neighbours, for the purpose of compelling him to give up his farm. I should again query the correctness of this assumption of motive, No. 11 was the burning of an

unoccupied cabin, from which a man had been evicted.

Out of 22 cases of incendiary fires recorded, five must certainly be classed as non-agrarian, and three as trivial, and no single case is reported whereby human life was endangered ; and in one case only, were cattle injured by the fires.

There are two cases of taking and holding forcible possession. No. 1 is in the County Westmeath, and is thus described:—Injured person, Dennis Newman.—

“ Mary Mc.Cormack took forcible possession of one of her brother’s houses, and refused to leave. This is the third time she has committed this offence. Discharged at the March Assizes, as the Crown did not prosecute.”

Agrarian is evidently applicable by the compilers of the Blue Book, to any case which they think will plausibly admit its application.

No. 6. “ Where a man went back to his house at night from which he had been evicted.”

As there is no evidence of force being used, and the term forcible is apt to suggest riot, rapine, and all kinds of horrible outrages, I give the details of some of these cases to show the colourable animus of those who make the returns.

Of administering unlawful oaths there is one, No. 24, in the County Meath. This is another case of multiplying offences out of the same outrage. Cases No. 24 and 25 are thus described—“ Injured person, James Carroll.—A party of men disguised and armed, entered with violence the house of James Carroll and ordered him to surrender a

piece of land, and administered to him an oath to that effect, fired shots in the house and outside before leaving."

I submit that this was not two outrages, but is set down as case 24, administering unlawful oaths. And case 25, intimidation by firing shots. In the analysis I have taken one from the double return off the number of cases of "intimidation otherwise than by threatening letters."

There is one more example of doubling. Cases 18 and 19, County Meath, are described as follows:—"Injured person, Patrick Sheridan; an armed party entered Patrick Sheridan's house by force, and threatened to shoot him if he did not give up a farm he had taken. Before leaving they fired a shot under the ceiling of the Kitchen." THIS IS A SINGLE OUTRAGE, IT IS SET DOWN AS TWO.

"Cases 20, 21, and 22, are thus described:—"Injured persons, John Carolan and Matthew Carolan. A party of men disguised and armed, entered by force the house of John Carolan, placed him on his knees, and made him promise to cease working for Mr. Hussey, fired a shot before entering and leaving the house. They then proceeded to the house of Matthew Carolan, placed him on his knees, and made him give a similar promise.' This is returned as three outrages. It is only one, or, at the utmost stretch, two.

"I give the Government the benefit of the doubt, and deduct one case out of the three."

"The only case of resistance to a legal process

was one in the County Longford. It was resistance on the part of the family only to an eviction, and was very severely punished, two persons absconding, and two being imprisoned, thus showing there was no failure of the law."

"The remaining three cases were in the County Westmeath, and were agrarian outrages."

The cases of injury to property were six, one in the County Carlow.

The very first in the return has already been commented upon in Parliament, but the following is the description; it is worth repetition:

'Name of injured person, James Redmond.—A portion of the front wall of an old unoccupied cabin was maliciously thrown down, in consequence of which the roof fell in.'

This is a splendid justification for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act."

"The next case was in the County of Kildare. It is No. 3 in the return, and the outrage consists in the grates and chimneypieces of a house from which a tenant had been evicted being injured. The injured person in this case was the Duke of Leinster, and it must be set down as trivial."

"The third case occurred in the County Longford, and according to the return a house was partially thrown down."

"The fourth and fifth took place in the County

Meath. One is No. 13 in the return. A quantity of hay belonging to the Earl of Mayo was scattered. No. 17 is of the same character. Both of these cases are trivial."

I would here beg to acknowledge that I am indebted for the bulk of this information on doubling and trivialities to the *Weekly Freeman and Irish Agriculturist*," and that the figures thereon are taken from that ably edited journal. In some cases I have borrowed their remarks bodily, in others I have eliminated matter that I considered was unnecessary for my purpose. In concluding his analysis of the tabular statement in the Blue Book for the province of Leinster, the editor remarks as follows:—

"Thus, for the province of Leinster, containing one million three hundred thousand inhabitants, we find that in ten months the utmost ingenuity of the police was able to discover sixty outrages, irrespective of threatening letters, and that of these, five, on their own showing, are doubles, reducing the number to 55. Of these eight are non-agrarian, reducing the number to 47, of which 10 are extremely trivial, reducing the number which, with even an approach to honesty, can be seriously called agrarian outrages to 37.

If there were any means of analysing these they would probably be reduced more, because many cases would be found not to exist at all, and to have been falsely reported.

Our space to-day does not permit us to deal with the other provinces, where the result will be

found to be even more startling, the cases being doubled, trebled, quadrupled, and in one case quintupled, for the purpose of multiplying outrages. We cannot forbear giving the quintuple case out of its proper place in order that our readers may judge whether we are justified in characterising the return as on the face of it 'a fraud.' In the province of Munster, county of Kerry, the following return is given :—Date of outrage, '28th June,' injured persons, John Horgan and Edmund Horgan. The injured men were placed in charge of a house and farm from which one of the accused (Patrick M'Namara) was evicted. They were attacked by an armed party, about 1-15 a.m., who fired shots into the dwelling-house, broke into it, seriously assaulted them, ejected them from the house, made them swear they would not go into it again, and took away two guns which the Horgans had for their protection ; several of the attacking party were disguised.

" This was a single outrage, of, no doubt, a grave character, but in the return it is set forth as five distinct outrages, being thus classified :—Case No. 25, 'firing into a dwelling-house;' case No. 26, aggravated assault: No. 27, ditto; No. 28, administering unlawful oaths; and case No. 29, robbery of arms ; and in the tabulated abstract of the return of crime for the county these five are shown as distinct outrages, with the intention of making people believe that they are independent cases."

I will now claim the reader's attention to the Government record of outrages committed in the

province of Connaught for the nine months, and in his opening speech on the introduction of the Coercion Bill, Mr. Forster reserved till the last the arguments which he deduced from the returns exhibited in the Connaught tabular statement, and with some reason, as they are doubtless the most formidable of any of the records of the different provinces.

Undoubtedly a certain proportion of the Connaught returns disclose an exceptional state of agrarian turbulence, but it is a wonderful fact that in the portions of the provinces where the Land League influence is paramount the offences decrease. Thus, in the East Riding of Galway, where there have been continual land demonstrations, and where every parish has its organized Land League branch and committee, the number of alleged outrages (less threatening letters) is just fifteen for nine months, whereas, in the West Riding of the same county, where the Land League is almost powerless to control the wild instincts of the people, (including the rude inhabitants of Connemara and its district), the offences charged are 84, or including threatening letters, 184.

I again give an extract in full from the analysis of the *Weekly Freeman and Irish Agriculturist*. I have the Blue Book before me and know the reasoning and figures to be correct.

“Four hundred and forty-three is the formidable total at the bottom of the lists of outrages in the province—probably the only figure that the generality of our English legislators will care to examine. Of these 87 are mere variations in terms of outrages

twice taken credit for; and if we deduct the 192 threatening letter cases (less the 26 doubles which have been counted in the 77), we have the total reduced to 190, as, upon their own showing. The highest number of appreciable offences with which Connaught for nine months is chargeable—the rest being all fraud or rubbish. According to our analysis, 26 of these are the petty crimes, which give petty sessions courts their ordinary occupation, and three more are in no way proven to be agrarian. There remain 164 more or less grave infractions of the law—being nearly one in every 5,120 inhabitants for three-fourths of the year in the poorest, most backward, the most tortured, and the most desperate province in Ireland. We are ashamed of many of the 164 charges, but we cannot pretend to be in the least shocked at or ashamed of the total of such charges—the more especially when we come to dip into the details.”

I cannot do better than give the analysis of above paper as fully as possible—that is, as regards figures. Any remarks which I may consider are not useful to the line of argument I have endeavoured to follow, or that may be to my mind too highly coloured, I shall take the liberty of omitting, although I may say that there is very little in that way to be done.

“In the East Riding at Galway, swarming all over with land League Branches, and seething with agitation, we have already mentioned the reported outrages are 15. They unhappily include one charge of houghing cattle—the first we have come across in these returns—for remember that in

three provinces of Ireland, not a single instance of that barbarity, which horrified English philanthropists believe to be our daily occupation and amusement, is even alleged against four millions of people."

"There is such a scarcity of murders that (No. 22) recourse is had to a quarrel between stepbrothers, one of whom, in a sudden paroxysm of frenzy almost cut his brother's head off with a scythe, and is suffering twenty years' penal servitude for the manslaughter on the verdict of a Galway jury. If this be classable as an agrarian murder, we cannot imagine what description of murder, robbery, rape, or arson committed by a man connected with land would not come under the very same description."

"Two outrages (Nos. 25 and 26) consist in a mower being met on the road by 'a man who pulled something like a revolver out of his breast and said he would shoot him if he cut any more hay for Mr. Lanyon.' The 'something' in this double-barrelled atrocity is so much more like a whale than a revolver, that we wonder that even the very dull Polonius who bethought himself of it as a serviceable outrage could not perceive it. But horror upon horrors had accumulated. Thomas Madden had 'a pane of glass' broken in his bedroom window (No. 20) and the top of a cock of hay knocked down in his field—outrage number one—the cock of hay having been set fire to, 'incendiary fire and arson' is blazed over the empire as outrage

number two. Ditto with Nos. 67, with Nos. 9 and 10, with Nos. 11 and 12, with Nos. 15 and 16, with Nos. 27 and 28—every second of which is a double, and a sham. Have we given a sufficient taste to the quality of the 15 outrages (less 5 doubles) which are laid to the charge of East Galway, and of which the gravest is an assault upon two bailiffs !”

“ In the West Riding of Galway, where the unhappy people have few opportunities of education, of meeting together, or of open agitation of their wrongs—where they are on the brink of famine, and crushed to the earth with rack rents—they have in some instances broken forth into rude attempts at resistance, and into a few brutalities which nothing can palliate, except the ignorance and misery in which their masters have held them down. Crimes of this sort are not one in fifty of what they used to be in times, when wrong was driven in upon conspiracy and outrage, as the only mode of redress. But mark the attempt to magnify and blacken them.”

“ Of the 138 offences brought out at the bottom of the list, 54 are threatening letters, and of the remaining 84 four charges of injury to property are mere repetitions of other offences ; three charges of robbery, five threatening letter cases, eight charges of intimidation, one charge of firing into a dwelling, four aggravated assaults, four charges of administering illegal oaths, one charge of attacking a house, two cases of maiming cattle, and two

incendiary fires, are doubles — that is to say, inventions, imaginations.”

“ The result, even taking the police reports to be unimpeachable, the 55 real offences in West Galway are swelled out into 138 sham ones.”

“ Here are a few specimens of how the thing is done :—(No. 76) ‘ 19 June. Robbery.—Patrick Nolan was knocked down, and fourteen ejectment processes taken from him by a number of women, girls, and boys. Motive, to prevent him serving them.’ (No. 77) ‘ 19 June. Assaults on bailiffs and process-servers. Nolan was assaulted and knocked down by a number of women, girls, and boys when going to serve ejectment processes for nonpayment of rent.’ (No. 78). ‘ 19 June, administering oaths. The above-named injured person was on the same occasion made to swear that he would not come there again to serve processes.’ ”

“ Here we have the one “injured person”—a process-server assaulted by women—held up to the empire as an officer of the law thrice grossly outraged.”

“ Again, 54 and 55 are twin outrages, arising from the same occurrence, where we are told a midnight party ‘ carded and kicked Walter Burke, in a brutal manner.’ ”

“ Now compare the next triune bunch of outrages (Nos. 56, 57, and 58,) committed upon the

same date upon a man named John Rafferty, whom they also 'carded and kicked in a brutal manner.' Though in other parts of this return there is a show of frankness in showing the connection between a few of the outrages, there is here nothing whatever to inform the reader that these five outrages are two aggravated assaults, committed by the same offenders, though that inference may be drawn with perfect certainty, not merely from the date, but from the exactly like phraseology employed evidently by the same constable in reporting the sets of offences. The trio 18, 19, and 20, are similar."

"A still more exquisite thing—a gem of official audacity rarely equalled and never excelled—is the pair of 'aggravated assaults,' 36 and 37. In the first the injured persons are given as Margaret Lydon, Pat Whalen, and Bridget Whalen, and the person made amenable for the assault is John Lydon, and the circumstances are thus related:—'A dispute arose about the possession of a small plot of ground. John Lydon, assaulted the injured persons.' The second outrage is manufactured by the beautiful contrivance of transferring John Lydon's name to the column of injured persons, and the three persons whom he injured in No. 36 into the column of persons made amenable, with this exquisite apology:—'Lydon was assaulted at the time of (and at the moment of) the above dispute about the land.' That is to say, Lydon outraged the injured persons, and the injured persons outraged Lydon, and the impartial

constable turns both into grist for Mr. Forster's mill."

"We are really tempted to look again at the title of this book, to make sure that it is an official blue book, and not an opera bouffe—that, or a first of lessons in lying. But fraud reaches its grand climacteric with the astounding discovery that Nos. 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, and 31—the whole eight of them—are simple variations of the one gang of night-walkers upon the one night, 10th March. The flagrant and impudent dishonesty of this return—where the administering of an oath to one man, is actually put down as two cases of administering unlawful oaths, and where four separate outrages, are carved out of the circumstance that the party fired shots in the air when paying those visits that have already been put down under the head of 'administering unlawful oaths'—is simply outrageous."

"Leitrim is another of the counties where the Land League reigns supreme, and side by side with it is perfect security for person and property. It is a maudlin sentimentality, that could weep over the fact that 23 agrarian offences have been reported in a large county during nine months, and there is still less reason to blush for the figure, when we know that four of these offences are doubles, and two more of them of trivial moment."

"We pass to Mayo—*tra la perduta gante*—into Ghenna where, according to popular belief in England, every man in the community is daily engaged in murder, or in being murdered. What do we

find ? That deducting 68 threatening letters, the utmost stretch of official ingenuity can but muster 82 offences among a population of 253,715, during a period of excitement which has been likened to a revolution. Even of the 68 threatening letters, 11 are repetitions under that form of outrage already recorded. Of the 82 offences charged, 2 cases of injury to property, 2 cases of robbery, 4 cases of intimidation, 4 aggravated assaults, 3 charges of administering unlawful oaths, 2 cases of maiming cattle, and one charge of assaulting the police, are what we have proved to be frauds, and three others are trivial offences, leaving a nett total of 61 genuine agrarian crimes in the bloodiest theatre of the land."

"Of the 61, one is a murder—the fearful murder of poor Feerick. His murder and that of Lord Mountmorres, in Galway, are the two bloodstains upon Connaught. We abhor such deeds as honestly as anybody, but as long as human nature, and not merely Irish nature, remains what it is, the Irish tenants are apt to look at the other side of the account, and call to mind that within the same period, and in the same area, several thousand 'sentences of death' (we thank Mr. Gladstone for teaching us that word) have been pronounced and carried out in due form of law, and very few English tears have been wasted over the victims. At all events, the fact stands that in Mayo, from January to October, there was one life taken and two attempted, and that three-fourths of the remaining crimes are shabby Whiteboy offences which the law has ample power to deal with."

“As for the composition of the Mayo returns, the fact that upon page 115, out of 15 outrages recorded, 20 are really five occurrences, will perhaps sufficiently demonstrate that, if the total is modest, it is not for lack of pains taken to magnify it. For instance (Outrage 26). Devanny, process-server, assaulted by women and boys. (Outrage 27) ‘On same occasion 50 processes were taken from Devanny.’ (Outrage 29). ‘A party of men came to where Murphy was ploughing, and smashed the plough.’ (Outrage 29). ‘The same party, when leaving, fired shots *towards* Murphy’s house’ (without informing the public whether Murphy’s house was a yard or a mile away); and so on.”

“Nor will the table of variations from month to month, help the coercionist theory that with the increase of agitation comes increase of crime, for we find that the offences in Mayo dropped from 15 in February (while the prospect of famine was still pressing) to 7 in March, when the relief system was in full operation; rose again to 19 in June, when the relief was coming to an end, and famine and fever doing their work, dropped to 14 in July, when the new potatoes offered some relief, and only rose to 22 and 28 in September and October, while the wretched people were struggling to protect their harvest from the rapacity of the landlords and *gombeen* men. So far from the Land League agitation having increased in Mayo during these months, it was far more active and equally widespread in the beginning of the year.”

“In Roscommon, of 17 offences charged 3 are doubles and 2 trivial; and in Sligo 6 out of 16 offences on the calendar are double. Needless to say, we offer no apology for these figures. They exhibit a state of things upon which Her Majesty’s judges would be much better occupied in congratulating the people, than in bemoaning the universal arming of a population, among whom a firearm has not been during nine months discharged in anger. These counties also being covered with a network of Land Leagues, we have one more proof that it is not exemption from agitation which preserves the peace, as in Sligo and Roscommon, but that it is a more frightful pitch of misery and oppression which drives the poor peasants of the Mayo and Galway wilds sometimes to break it.”

“Just one farewell proof that the smallness of the returns is not to be attributed to the hand of the compiler having lost its cunning. No. 5 (Co. Sligo) is a case of ‘aggravated assault,’ where, owing to a family dispute, some people broke into Thomas Foley’s house, and assaulted him and his family. A fair outrage enough; but now comes No. 6—‘James Foley, ditto. A similar case in every respect to No. 5, committed by the same party;’ then No. 7 (with the most magnificent audacity)—‘Frank Foley, ditto, ditto,’ and once more, No 8—‘Thomas Foley, administering unlawful oaths.’ This case occurred on the same occasion.”

CHAPTER XI.

Continue this united league.

Richard III., Act 2, Scene 1.

I now append the concluding remarks and figures upon the Government statements, and can only say that they represent my feelings upon the subject, and I trust, may do much (the figures at any rate) to convince every reader that there has been much misrepresentation by the Constabulary and other officials, and that Mr. Forster has been made sponsor for a measure based upon a very doubtful foundation, and, to say the least, a measure which will enslave millions of people (the majority of whom cry aloud for the redress of grievances), because, forsooth, the ignorant part of the population have been guilty of certain outrages against society, which the ordinary police, if properly appointed and directed, could have easily controlled. The concluding remarks referred to above, are given in *extenso*. They are without doubt the reflex of the opinion of the majority of the intelligence of Ireland.

“November and December last were, according to Mr. Forster, *par excellence* the months of outrages in Ireland. The Land League, he argued, was in full swing. Meetings were held here, there, and everywhere. The consequence was that murder and anarchy stalked and terrorised over the land from end to end. We confess that last night we opened them with more than the ordinary curiosity awaiting a Blue-book, the par-

ticularised return for the former of those months—November—just issued. We have gone over it pretty carefully, and we can declare, without fear of contradiction, that if the Chief Secretary's word is to be taken, and that November was the worst or one of the two worst months of the year 1880, the worst month of the year in Ireland can compare most favourably with the best month of the year in any other country in the world. Although it was the worst month of the year there was only one murder in the whole country. That was the murder of Henry Wheeler in the County Limerick. It was a most melancholy one, to be sure, but it is not at all certain that it was what is called 'agrarian.' The Moores, the persons charged with the crime, and one of whom, Wheeler's own herd, was at the time with the young man slain, were made amenable, but were subsequently discharged for want of evidence. In the race of crime this Wheeler murder is first and the rest nowhere.

It has been pointed out often before, that half the so-called outrages are threatening letters and notices. The return before us would show that not half alone, but three-fourths, of the tabulated crime is of this bogus description. The entire return for the county Carlow is made up of this padding with one single exception—the case of a man named Morris, whose farmhouse a certain Joseph Byrne seems to have taken possession of, he being a former tenant: and this person alleged that he was forcibly reinstated by a party of armed men, disguised. The fellow was arrested, but let out on bail—to come up at the quarter sessions for trial.

All the 'outrages' (2) reported from the county Dublin are threatening letters. The 'outrage' reported from the county Kildare (1) is a threatening letter, and one of the most harmlessly idiotic even of its kind. Sir E. D. Burrowes, Bart., is the alleged recipient. All the 'outrages' reported from county Kilkenny are threatening letters, with one exception—the terrible 'outrage' of breaking two panes of glass in Paddy Purcell's top story window. All the 'outrages' reported from King's County are threatening letters or notices. There is only one 'outrage' from the county Louth, and that is a threatening notice 'found posted in a field.' All the 'outrages' reported from Queen's County are threatening notices. The two down to the account of Westmeath—that so-called centre of ribbonism—are threatening letters. The solitary 'outrage' reported from the county Wicklow is a threatening letter. Out of the twelve 'outrages' reported from the western and wild county Clare, ten are threatening letters. All the 'outrages' reported from the county Antrim, (3) are threatening letters. The three 'outrages' from the county Armagh are ditto. The fourteen 'outrages' reported from distant and impoverished Donegal contained amongst them only one other than a threatening letter case, and that one was rather a humorous demonstration against a bailiff named Paddy M'Alenny, who retreated on the occasion with all the skill, if not all the grace, of an Austrian archduke. The four 'outrages' reported from county Down are all threatening letters or notices. The only 'outrage' reported

from Fermanagh is a threatening letter delivered to a man in Dublin. Of the four 'outrages' reported from Monaghan three are threatening letters. The four 'outrages' reported from county Tyrone are all threatening letters or notices. We now come to Connaught—the cradle and the home of the Land League. What do we find? We find that in the East Riding of Galway, the third largest county in Ireland, not a single agrarian offence was committed with the single exception of these bogus threatening letters. We find that more than a third of the reported 'outrages' from terrible Mayo are threatening letters and notices. We find that with one paltry exception the eight 'outrages' swelling the total from the county Roscommon are threatening letters. We find that more than a fourth of the so-called 'outrages' from Sligo County are these same miserable threatening letters. And so on.

Now, it may be said that we are conveniently skipping the worst counties, or parts of counties—Tipperary, Mayo, Cork, Kerry, and the West Riding of Galway. We have no such intention, though Government is reversing the decree of God. The Almighty would spare the doomed city if five just men could be found in it. Mr. Forster will punish the whole country because there are five apparently disturbed districts in it. But are these districts disturbed, or are the 'outrages' only on paper, like skeleton regiments? Let us examine them. We turn to Mayo—Davitt's place of nativity. How are the outrages brought up to their full strength there? Well, we find Captain

Boycott a host in himself. He counts not less than five. On the 1st of November he was mobbed in Ballinrobe—that's one. On the 14th November a notice was thrown into his herd's house, and two shots were fired over it, warning him to give up herding for the captain—that's two. No—that's three, for it is made to count one for the captain, and another for Harte, the herd. On the same day the captain got a threatening letter, making him the hero of four 'outrages' in a fortnight, and not a hair turned on him. On the 24th he got another threatening letter, and on the 25th yet another—these counting two more 'outrages' in the return. Captain Boycott, we need not say, is alive and kicking—a notable proof of the dangers of threatening letterdom, and that threatened men live long. But it is not in Captain Boycott's case alone that this multiplication of outrages is resorted to, to swell an empty return. Patrick Dolan is duplicated in Mayo; Henry Lyons is duplicated in the same county, Michael Reilly is duplicated there also. An assault alleged to have been made on three persons of the name of Jordan, near Ballaghaderreen, is spread out into three separate 'outrages.' The case of Arthur Percival, in the county Leitrim, is duplicated and made count as two 'outrages.' The same thing occurs with Patrick Keenan, in the same county. In the return for the West Riding of Galway Michael M'Guff is made appear as two separate men. Michael Daly and Michael M'Donagh are each duplicated in the same alarmist fashion. We have no space to expose those fallacious returns more fully. Is there any-

one that will say, after reading what we have written, and of which we challenge contradiction, that a greater expose is needed? We make the Government a present of all the 'outrages' that remain for this bloody month of November. They will have to fall back on the case 'cutting the extreme tip off a calf's ear' for ground to stand their baby Coercion Bill on."

I am now about to take leave of my readers, but before doing so, I shall at the risk of being wearisome, place before them as briefly as possible, the results already brought about by the action of the Coercion Bills. Some thirty people have, up to the moment of writing, been arrested, and all of them *on suspicion*. Nally, the drunken half-maudlin fool, described by the leaders of the Land League, and others who know him, as not responsible for his actions, is the latest addition to the army of *martyrs*; for even if guilty of the offences alleged against them, that is what they will be considered by most of the Irish people.

Nally was followed by a large and excited crowd of peasantry, and the police were unable, for a time, to check the enthusiasm of the mob. The prisoner maintained throughout a defiant attitude, uttering unmeaning and senseless threats, or what he evidently intended as such. Is the policy of arresting men of his calibre calculated to remove, or to incite, the worst feelings of the Irish agricultural population? If arrests are to be made, and the Government holds that the leaders of the movement are those who incite to wrong-doing, why should they pounce upon the lesser lights?

The events which have occurred during the compilation of this work ; the forcing through the House of the Arms Bill ; the indefinite postponement of the remedial measure ; and the continued suspension of constitutional rights by the urgency rules ; all these events have led me to the conclusion that I should be unmanly, were I not now to declare that my confidence in the present Government has been rudely shaken, and that although I cannot agree entirely with Mr. Parnell in his advice to the Irish electors of Coventry there is some little justification for his apparent vindictiveness to the WHIGS,

I join issue with him certainly, however, in believing that the weakening of the present majority will strengthen his hand, because I know that among that majority are many who, if the *Gladstonian promises* are not soon fulfilled, will unite to force the hands of the Government.

Mr. Parnell has, I am sure, the sense to understand that obstruction (which, although I have endeavoured to vindicate), is obnoxious to the majority of even Radical members of the Legislature, has been the prime cause of the defection from his standard of many Englishmen, who would have, and will hereafter, rally round him, and help him to obtain for his country a JUST LAND BILL. He cannot possibly help his party by aiding those who principally represent the objectionable landlord oligarchy which he is endeavouring to defeat, and for this reason I am sorry that he has written his manifesto to the Irish electors of Coventry.

The news of the polling which has resulted in the return of the Conservative candidate has arrived at the moment of writing. The Liberal and Radical Press are at a loss to account for the result, but it is perfectly clear to my mind, that the changing of the Irish vote, and the defection from the English Liberal ranks by those who are determined to uphold the Irish leaders in their struggle for justice, are together the cause of this unexpected change, in the political representation of Coventry.

I am extremely grieved at the attitude of the Government, and although I am unable to believe that Mr. Gladstone will fail to redeem this seeming inconsistency, I am certainly unable to find at present any valid excuse for the delay in the introduction of the Land Bill. As a proof of the deep feeling upon this subject I append copy of a letter to Mr. Gladstone, and signed "An Irish Catholic," which has been in circulation among Members of Parliament and others.

The writer sorrowfully and trenchantly reminds the Premier of Ireland's constancy in suffering, and of his own political inconsistency :—" Out of the depths of her misery Ireland calls to you ; out of the long accumulated agony of her hunger and her thirst and fever, she asks you for food, for rest, for shelter, and you offer her a rod. You, the champion of the full-fed land-owners of Bulgaria. You, the advocate of the peasant seated in plenty amid the Tuscan hills. You, the upholder of rentless Slave and prosperous Servian, and olive-fatted Ionian, have nothing to give this weary, starving, maddened Celt, save scorn, insult, and

the gaol. You could vapour of freedom on the distant Danube, and play the tyrant on the nearer Shannon. You could invoke the sacred name of freedom in Corfu, only to be the champion of coercion for Cork. You could play bear-leader to the Bulgar, the Slave, the Neapolitan, and jangle his chain in the ears of Europe ; but the quiet extinction of millions of your own people was an everyday matter that was beneath the sublime loftiness of your comprehension."

One thing is certain, there have occurred in Ireland conspiracies and petty rebellions, revolutionary outbursts, and secret organizations, which have created turbulence and disorder, and failed to procure for the people any amelioration of their unhappy condition, but rather have had a tendency to excite hostility on the part of the English Government, and a want of sympathy on the part of the English people. The principles of the Land League are entirely opposed to the revolutionary or unconstitutional elements in connection with the above anarchical disturbances.

This fact will, I believe, be admitted by all right thinking people. The present movement is, in one sense, a strike of 600,000 oppressed tenants against a small tyrannical oligarchy of absentees, The Land League movement is no secret organization ; what it says or does, is spoken or acted upon openly.

It is also a fact, that it is popular with the vast majority of the Irish people, educated and uneducated, laity and clergy, all united in their appeal for just and reasonable land laws,

It is also a fact that it has the support of an immense number of the cultured and uncultured people of this England of ours. This national movement has been cleverly and perfectly organised, and I have no doubt that its mighty force will succeed in obtaining JUSTICE for the Irish peasantry.

It has already been effectual in forcing the English people to know the wrongs of Ireland, and to deprecate their retention.

We cannot close our eyes or our hearts to the fact, that a terrible injustice is being done to that brave and intelligent people, that has given to us our most prescient and bravest soldiers, some of our most distinguished statesmen, and that has supplied us with brain power in all the departments of our legislature and of our civil and other services.

This same Ireland is the country that gives birth to sons of toil, who in strange lands, where liberty reigns, and where the labourer is worthy of his hire, contribute the principal portion of the bone and sinew to the populations, and who eventually raise themselves to positions of independence, and being blessed with full participation in the governing of their adopted countries, are by the blessing of free education enabled to depart this life, with the knowledge that their children and heirs, and the generations to come will not be, as they have been, enslaved and depressed, but that they will enjoy all the privileges of *freedom and justice*.

I ask you, my readers, to lend your voice and

your vote to the cause of Just Legislation for Ireland. I ask you to prevent the enforced Exodus from their Native Isle of this people, who have been ever ready to fight, side by side, who as friends and companions are *genial, generous and hospitable*, and whose ruder sons even with the lack of advantages they possess are *faithful* to those who are kind to them, and possess a *ready wit*, and *strong and willing arm to work*, when work is not directed by oppression.

It is the ENGLISH PEOPLE that must now join in the agitation, for the DELIVERANCE OF IRELAND. It is to the ENGLISH PEOPLE, aided by the leaders of Irish public opinion, that the SUFFERING SONS AND DAUGHTERS OF ERIN turn with SUPPLIANT TEARS OF GRIEF AND PAIN. Let us STAND BY THEM, and they will in THE FUTURE STAND BY US. Let us PROGRESS TOGETHER the two nationalities of one UNITED LAND, OUR HEARTS BEATING IN LOVING UNISON. Thus shall we prove that the PEOPLE is the POWER that GOVERNS, and the POWER that can GOVERN GENEROUSLY and with JUSTICE.

I now conclude with the belief, that my little effort will be attended with some success, in the attainment of the end for which it has been written, and that on some future occasion I may be enabled to write a companion work, to record the events which shall have contributed to the redress of Irish wrongs, and to the existence of a perfect unity of heart and mind, between the two kindred Isles.

APPENDIX.

From the Lenten Pastorals for the year 1881 of several Irish Bishops, I have extracted those parts that have a bearing on the subject of this work.

The Most Rev. Dr. Gillooly, Lord Bishop of Elphin, writes:—

“In the very critical condition in which our country is placed, we feel it is our duty to give advice to our beloved diocesans on certain duties which they ought presently to fulfil, and also on certain dangers against which they should carefully guard themselves. In the course of the past year, at our conferences and visitation, we spoke, very reverend and reverend fathers, to you and your flocks, in the plainest terms, on the organized agitation which was being carried on amongst you and around you by the Land League. Whilst deeply sympathising with the tenant class in their great losses and sufferings, and cordially approving the efforts they were making to improve their relations with their landlords, we could not in duty refrain from condemning several acts of injustice and intimidation which has occurred—apparently in connection with the Land League agitation. We then warned our beloved people against all violent and illegal means of redress; and predicted, as it was easy to do, that illegal and defiant proceedings such as we condemned would certainly lead to coercive legislation, and possibly deprive the present generation of tenants of the remedial measures which had been promised to them. We now see, to our deep regret, a beginning of the evils we apprehended in the Coercion Bill which has been so eagerly and unanimously adopted by Parliament; and looking to the angry, vindictive spirit aroused amongst the upper classes in England against the land agitation and its promoters, we see great reason to fear that not only will all legislation favourable to the people be defeated, but that the landlord class will be furnished with new means of oppression; that they

will re-assert and enforce their claims with renewed severity: and that the people will be again victimised by fines, imprisonment, and evictions.

We have had ample evidence of the despotic temper of a Liberal House of Commons; we have seen the House of Lords maintain its traditional hostility to the tiller of the soil; numerous and convincing proofs have also been supplied to us of the rigour with which the orders of the Government and the decrees of the law will be henceforth executed. In view of such facts, and with such means of forecasting the future, what honest man, if he be of sound mind, can still believe in the success of violent and illegal remedies? Who but an enemy can still advocate or recommend them? It is happily true, very reverend and dear fathers, that during the past year our good and peaceful people kept themselves free, with very few exceptions, from acts of violence and intimidation.

Now, although it may be taken as proved beyond question and as generally admitted by the representatives of the landlord class, that the method followed in Ireland for fixing and raising rents has been most arbitrary and unfair; that rents on many properties, especially those purchased in the Landed Estates Court, are oppressively high; that general reduction of rents even of those formerly considered moderate, has now for a variety of reasons, become necessary; and that furthermore the public good demands a new system of land tenure which will not only allow but encourage the tenant to improve his land, and which will save him from eviction and starvation; now, although we fully admit all this, and although it is unquestionably both the right and the duty of our people to insist on the removal of the grievances under which they have so long suffered, and to assert their right to live on and by the soil they cultivate, in the meantime, let the people, by all means, urge their just claims, let them agitate if they will, but let their agitation be peaceful and constitutional, let it be directed to promote, instead of impeding, the concessions they look for."

The Most Rev. Dr. M'Evilly, Coadjutor Archbishop of Tuam:—

“ Would we not be wanting in the well regulated charity we owe ourselves were we to omit, at this important crisis in our country's history, fervently praying to Him who holds in His hands the hearts of men, that He would inspire our rulers to redress, with that spirit of fairness and justice, born of true patriotism, which is sure in the end to triumph over all obstacles, the crying wrongs of our misgoverned country, and by a course of just legislation dry up the sources of the discontent and dissatisfaction which must universally prevail so long as the present state of things continues? While the great bulk of our people are allowed to live in the land of their birth, in most cases on mere sufferance; while they are kept in constant dread, so far as the protection of law is concerned, of being the victims, in many instances, of plunder and spoliation; while, in a state of anxious uncertainty, they have cause to dread, in many cases, being turned adrift at the whim of irresponsible power, and of forfeiting the fruit of long toil and outlay, which is in reality for thousands a question of life or death, can they in any sense of the word be regarded as free? While they see before their eyes the labourer defrauded of his hire on a gigantic scale—what else can we term compelling men to pay in ever increasing rents for the fruits of their hard industry?—can they be contented or happy? But, while we deplore these evils, and would omit no just or constitutional means for their permanent redress, we cannot shut our eyes to outrages which are committed by men who should be shunned and abhorred by all as the deadliest enemies of our country. No doubt, the number of these outrages is, for sinister motives, greatly exaggerated; but, be their number what it may, such outrages are, for several reasons, the greatest obstacle to the equitable settlement of the great question of the hour, which intimately affects the dearest interests of all classes of society, and at a future day, perhaps not far distant, when, after the storm of passion shall have subsided, reason assumes the ascendant, it may be seen that

the perpetrators of such outrages are themselves either the expectants or the recipients of the wages of iniquity."

The most Rev. Dr. Donnelly, Lord Bishop of Clogher:—

"It is with feelings of more than ordinary anxiety we address you at the present juncture. Our country presents at this moment, to the empire and the world, a spectacle of social upheaving calculated to inspire all of us with the gravest disquietude. After being rescued by the charity of the world—chiefly, no doubt, of our kith and kin—from the jaws of a terrible famine, which would have been the second within a generation, the Irish people have risen from their lethargy, and joining together in lawful combination have proclaimed that they shall no longer submit to conditions of life which keep the bulk of them in a state of chronic abasement and misery, to be turned into the horrors of a national famine by the failure of a single esculent. Is it not time such a state of things should end, and that Irishmen, patterns of industry, thrift, loyalty, and prosperity in every foreign land, should no longer be kept in a perpetual struggle between life and death on this island which God has given for their support? We have been calling on the legislature to rescue us from land laws which condemn our people to starvation and degradation; and now, for the hundredth time, our appeal is responded to by Coercion Acts and Arms Acts. And is this to go on for ever? Are we to be left still preaching patience to a starving multitude, loyalty and submission to a people for whom law is but organised oppression, confiscation, expatriation? We have hopes that this may not be so, and that counsels of humanity and prudence may at length prevail; but the future is in the hands of God. Whilst we ask the clergy to impress on their flocks the necessity of prudence, moderation, and charity in the present agitation, and the need of keeping strictly within the laws of God and His Church and the civil law as well, we call on priests and people to join with us, at this supreme moment, in making an earnest appeal to Almighty God, that He may move the hearts of your rulers and legislators to send at length a message of relief to a long-suffering nation."

The Most Rev. Dr. F. J. M'Cormack, Lord Bishop of Achonry :—

“ We have passed into another year, and approach another Lent, but the deep shadow of sorrow is still cast over our troubled land. Distress still hovers over the country, and it remains to be seen how the poor labourers and small farmers may eke out an existence during the ensuing spring and summer. The clouds of discontent thicken apace, and the outlook seems more gloomy day by day. The fortunes of our poor country are now in the uncertain balance of a foreign legislature, to be cast at the beck of British Ministers. Discontent and disloyalty may be now perpetuated in this ill-used country; or, on the other hand, one of the great wounds of Ireland may be now healed up, and the feeling of unrest be quickly abated. The pressing evil of the iniquitous land system of Ireland has been brought to the front, and in its presence other Irish grievances are hushed for the moment. In this momentous crisis of our unhappy nation it behoves people and clergy to unite in prayer to the Giver of all Good, that He may inspire British legislators with wisdom and justice at a moment when great national interests hang in the balance. The land grievance of Ireland is admitted by all just men; and the wonder is that any people, with an instinct of honest manliness, could have borne a cruel, transparent, and systematic wrong so long and so patiently. The earnest appeal for redress has at length gone forth, a combined effort to resist injustice is now made in every province in Ireland—in the black North as well as in the sunny South. We may rest assured that an earnest, persevering appeal for justice cannot, and will not, be disregarded, when it emanates from Protestant as well as Catholic—from a body of ‘united Irishmen’ determined to gain their point because justice is on their side. But with that thorough perseverance should be united an earnest endeavour to discountenance the employment of every illegal means in working out this all-important social reform. Let coercion do its worst; it can never prevail in quenching the claims of justice or silencing the spirit of

earnestness which is now abroad. The eyes of many nations are now watching the result of the Irish land movement, eagerly awaiting the next move of the British Government on the land question, and how our poor country will fare at their hands at this supreme moment. The United States of America particularly regard the struggle with deep and sympathetic interest. They see with regret 'the substitution of the methods of tyrants for the peaceful process of civil law' to stifle the voice of Ireland and paralyse her action. And they suggest that 'if the British Parliament is unable or unwilling to apply an efficient remedy to the cancer that is eating away the life of a nation, it is the duty of England to remit the cure of the evil to the people of Ireland themselves.'

We exhort both clergy and people to hold together, united in sentiment and action in this trying crisis of our country. The clergy of Ireland owe a deep debt of loyalty to their faithful flocks, and as long as the people pursue the paths of 'justice and equity' the clergy shall be ever found by their side. If the British Government will only make an honest effort to redress the glaring grievances under which our poor people have suffered for ages in unparalleled misery, they may count upon a nation's loyalty and the cordial goodwill of every true Irishman. But coercion in and out of Parliament of the people and of the people's representatives takes the lead of redress—such coercion as was never heard of before, exasperating in the highest degree, in every shape and form that ingenuity could devise. Perhaps, it may be suggested, this coercion has a silver lining upon it; perhaps it is the precursor of real radical reform. Yes, the merest 'perhaps,' without any guarantee. If we read English promises and English pledges to Ireland by the light of the past, we can place but little faith in the assurances of British Ministers. In any event, coercion or redress, we counsel our harassed people to patience, and call upon them to avoid every snare and baffle every effort to draw them into violation of the laws; but we, at the same time, would earnestly encourage them not to abate their legitimate aspiration for land

reform, nor lower the flag of constitutional agitation, until perseverance shall have crowned their just cause with victory. We demand but common justice; and in urging our claims we have a common right to the ear of British rulers, if they have only ears to hear, when there is a question of Ireland, and if the Irish cause is not still what it was of old—‘a jest to the English Philistine.’”

The Most Rev. Dr. Duggan, Lord Bishop of Clonfert, says:—

“It is earnestly hoped that Parliament will soon, by wise, vigorous, and incisive legislation, put an end for ever to this burning land agitation—an agitation that will not cease to exercise the public mind in some form or another, until finally settled on principles in conformity with the eternal laws of equity and justice. The condition of the labouring poor and artisan classes in this, as in other towns, is this year deplorable. The same is to be said of the numbers of the small holders of land throughout this diocese. The failure of the potato crop affects those classes in a special manner. For large numbers of them we see no alternative but starvation, or a judicious outlay in outdoor relief, combined with employment on works of public utility. The rigid application of the workhouse test to able-bodied members of families, involving the eternal disruption of home ties, in seasons of exceptional severity, would be simply inhuman. As the duties entrusted by the legislature to those charged with the administration of the poor-laws are being more and more extended year after year, it should be borne in mind both by the rate-paying electors and guardians that their responsibilities are become proportionately increased—hence, among other matters, the duty on both to endeavour to temper economy with a judicious and humane regard to the condition of the indigent.

It would be impossible to find words to adequately express our thanks to the munificent benefactors from all parts of the world who came to the relief of the famine.

stricken poor of our locality during last year. We take this opportunity of again expressing our heartfelt acknowledgments. Let us hope the time is not far distant when there will be an end of such mendicancy."

Dr. Doran, Lord Bishop of Down and Connor, said :—

"So far as he understood the present agitation he could see nothing in its principles opposed to an equitable settlement of the Land Question on the most constitutional lines. He condemned the coercive legislation of the Government as unstatesmanlike, irritating, and illogical. Coercion was the weapon of the tyrant, not a weapon for the hungry multitudes. It must produce hatred, not love, and terror would not lead to willing obedience to the law. In conclusion he counselled his flock to continue to discuss their grievances, and keep within the law, until redress was constitutionally obtained."

The *Irish Times* New Ross correspondent, writing on Sunday. says :—

"The Most Rev. Dr. Warren, Bishop of Ferns, commended to his flock the advice of the Pope to guard against being led into illegal and unjust acts in connection with the present land movement. Though the Pope did not disapprove of the people seeking redress of their grievances by constitutional means, he said, that in the present agitation, as it was carried on, there were certain things which he could not approve of. The Bishop reminded his people that the slightest wilful violation of the laws of truth, justice, equity, or of any other moral virtue, could never be permitted by the Catholic Church, either for escaping temporal evils or for obtaining the greatest temporal advantages. Sooner or later Divine justice would require satisfaction for the violation of any moral precepts. In conclusion, he exhorted the people to have patience, and by resignation to the holy will of God to make sure to have Him on their side. If God was against them it mattered little what success they might attain in temporal concerns."

MR. PARNELL'S LETTER TO VICTOR HUGO.

“ The solidity of heart, the meek sympathy with human suffering, the exertions in favour of oppressed nationalities, which have distinguished you throughout life, encourage me to invoke your powerful advocacy in defence of the suffering Irish people.

The Irish question is not a sectarian question, in its present aspect it is a purely social question. It is the cause of five millions of working men, struggling for justice and for the right to live by their labour on their own land, against a small and privileged class, foreign in their origin, foreign in their associations, and supported in their injustice and in their tyranny by the armed force of a foreign nation.

What have been the results of the domination of this class? They are written in the history of recurring famines, decimating generation after generation.

No human words can paint the miseries and suffering which have been witnessed even by the youngest among us. Millions have been driven from their homes in despair. Hundreds of thousands have perished miserably of hunger in a land teeming with food. Half of our population exist constantly on the verge of famine, while ten thousand landlords, many of whom have never seen Ireland, live in extravagance and luxury on the confiscated production of the people's labour.

It is against the system which has produced these evils that we struggle. It is to put an end at once and for ever to this detestable state of things that we appeal to the conscience of all good men, without distinction of creed, or party, or nationality, to aid us in shaming the Government of England to do justice to our people.

To you, honoured sir, who have known how to arraign the sympathy of mankind for *Les Misérables*, we feel that we shall not appeal in vain when we ask that your voice shall be raised on behalf of a brave but unfortunate nation.

C. S. PARNELL.

Hotel Brighton, Feb. 24, 1881.”

WHAT THE IRISH HAVE DONE FOR ENGLAND.

There is one amongst you (Lord Lyndhurst) of the most distinguished talent and the most decided character. He is not a member of this house, but he spoke with at least more frankness than others of his party. He does not profess to do justice to Ireland, he is above imposture. This distinguished person tells us, when making an appeal to the passions of the English people, he tells us—the people of Ireland—that in every particular by which strangers can be enumerated, we are aliens to this country. The phrase is a remarkable one, and one which now belongs to history. It is one which must necessarily be the subject of fair and legitimate quarrel now, as it must be the subject of observation hereafter. I am surprised that at the moment the phrase was uttered, the Duke of Wellington did not start up and say that those aliens had done their duty.

He ought not to have forgotten Vimeira, and Badajoz, and Salamanca, and Toulouse, and Waterloo; the last glorious conflict which crowned all other victories. I will appeal to the gallant and honourable soldier opposite (Sir H. Hardinge): I know he bears in his breast a brave and generous heart. Let him tell how on that day, when the destinies of mankind were trembling in the balance, when the batteries with fatal precision spread slaughter over the field, and men fell in heaps—when the legions of France rushed to the fight, and, inspired by the voice of their mighty leader, rushed again and again to the onset—the gallant soldier opposite will tell you whether, in the last hour of thousands, the “aliens” flinched. And when at length the moment for the decisive charge arrived—when the banner so long clouded was at length unfurled, he will tell you—when the mighty champion of the day cried out “Now boys, at them!” he will tell you, for he must remember, whether the Irishman, the catholic Irishman, was less forward in the charge. No, he will tell you that, on that day, the blood of England, Ireland, and Scotland was poured forth together—they fought in the same field—they died the same death—they were buried in the same pit—their dust was commingled in the same earth—the same dew of heaven fell upon the earth that covered them—the same grass grew upon their graves. Is it to be endured after this, that we should be called aliens and complete strangers to that empire for whose salvation our best blood was shed?

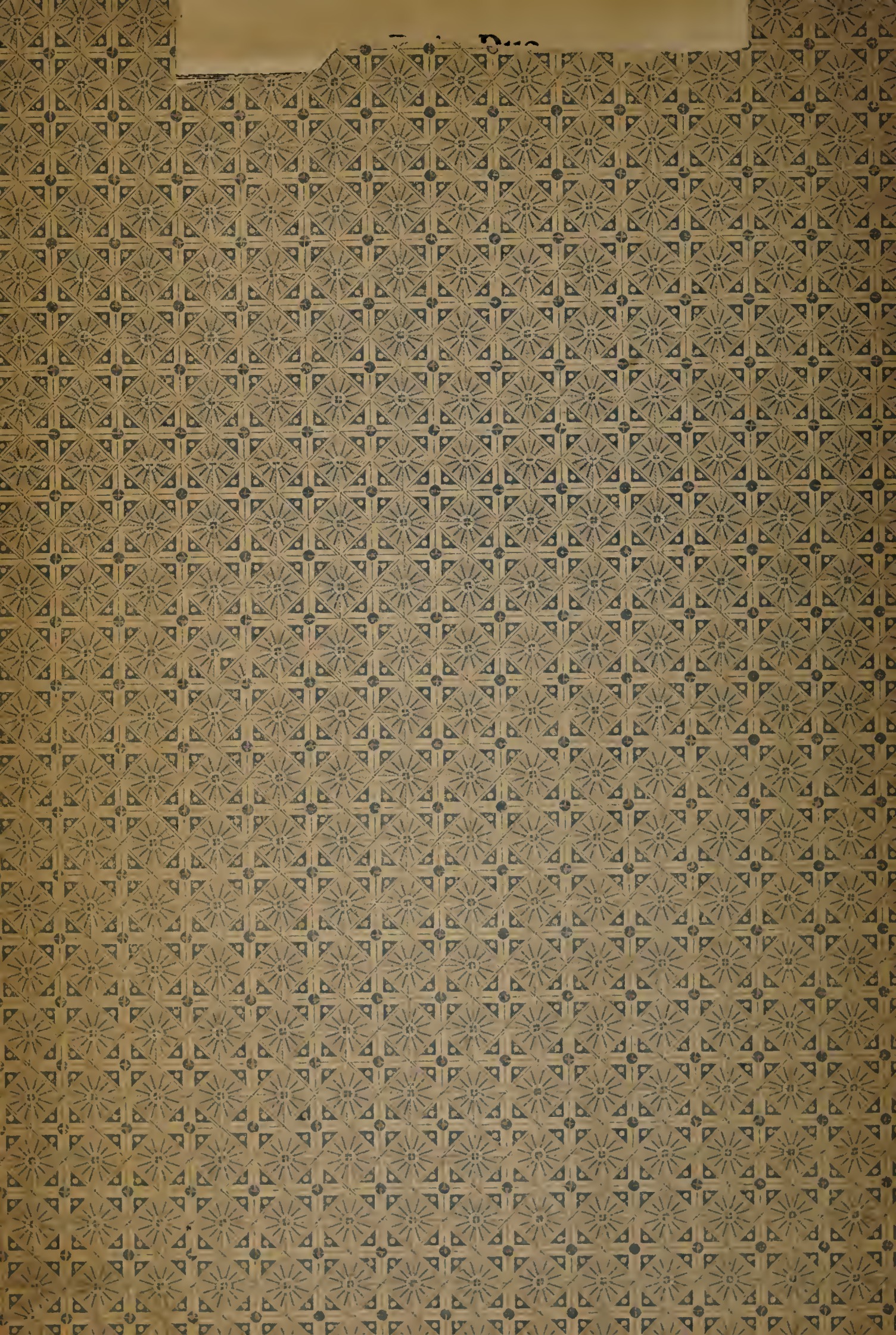
SHEIL.

- VI Cromwell's Prophets Not a single soul left
 VII The Irish Army at the Boyne Battle
 VIII William III Capitulated - Not honor Honor
 IX The Irish General's word Superior to British Army
 XIV Volunteers armies from Dublin Castle
 + Did not want to throw off British Yoke
 XVI Parliament, act religious equality
 " population greatly doubled in 20 years
 XVII Rate of the Irish Parliament
 XVIII Function on the Irish People
 " Haggard on the Irish
 12 Honorable on absent Land - Lords
 13 the in most where most dispossession Land
 270,000 dying in 20 years, about 200,000 Irish
 21 Irish People
 23 Murders in Ireland & London Irishmen
 32 England pay off 500,000,000 years, for the
 39 - A Land, Physical Strength, Phiction are
 what Land - Lords charge that for for
 the tenant every blowing a Curse every victim
 a vice & for the land and ruin them
 When is the only land murderer of
Justice - why you are to the
Landlord of Course, Reverend!!!
 41. Even chaud is dangerous from Landlord
 + 42 Basing his Claims to Robbery or Success
ful plunder
 46 Who deny to us the Wine of death

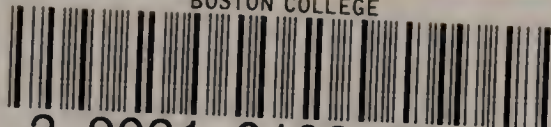
- 47 - no property in Land Self p. 100, in
 the Serf: dupe or un-cared-for Slave.
- 48 due for in defence which title - Land
A Religious Title To Land!
- 49 The Landlord - Coward
- 50 Polymyem Polymyem Polymyem Polymyem Polymyem
 The Patent - France
- 51 Irish Game
- 62 Ireland Capable of maintaining 10 million
- 63 obtains for itself more than the land produces
- " Cant afford the luxury of Salt you like
- 66 Break Law, all that is immoral to
- 67 Continual Poverty Changes their Nature
- 68 the worst form of violence, justified
- " Irish character (it is the real Irish more
 all change Irish with
 to change & alter)
- 69 English Amisgors
- 71 who owns Ireland { Land Lords
 & all others }
- 78-9 Horrible!!! no rent due - but English
- " a man off for 8 years must in advance but English
- " not allowed to testify - but not wanted
- 81 but magnetics & od. & od. troops.

An Irish-Land Lord with his ^{P. E. residing} any way
when a superior grade of society which
he spars sufficiently despises him
and his. Like all others he likes to
get a good distance from the scene
of his superior deeds - no matter
how legal the stealing system is

+ +
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